TRAVELS

IN

PALESTINE.

VOL. I.

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TRAVELS

IN

PALESTINE,

THROUGH THE COUNTRIES OF

BASHAN AND GILEAD,

EAST OF THE RIVER JORDAN:

INCLUDING A VISIT TO THE

CITIES OF GERAZA AND GAMALA,

IN THE DECAPOLIS.

By J. S. BUCKINGHAM,

MEMBER OF THE ASIATIC SOCIETY, CALCUTTA; AND OF THE LITERARY SOCIETIES OF MADRAS AND BOMBAY.

Second Edition.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

LONDON.

PRINTED FOR

LONGMAN, HURST, REES, ORME, AND BROWN,

PATERNOSTER-ROW.

1822.

DEDICATED,

BY EXPRESS PERMISSION,

TO

THE MOST HONOURABLE

THE MARQUESS OF HASTINGS, K. G.

F.R.S., P.S.A., M.R.I.A.,

GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF INDIA,

&c. &c. &c.

WITH THE GREATEST RESPECT,

BY HIS MUCH OBLIGED,

AND VERY OBEDIENT SERVANT,

THE AUTHOR.

PREFACE.

On announcing to the public a new volume of travels through a country apparently so well known as Palestine, some explanation is due to those who may honour the work with their patronage.

The authors who have written in illustration of this small portion of the globe, from Benjamin of Tudela and Sir John Mandeville, down to Dr. Clarke and Mr. Chateaubriand, may be thought to have so completely exhausted the subject, as to leave nothing new to be added by another.

The itineraries of Catholic devotees have furnished the most ample details regarding the sanctuaries and holy places; and the names of Phocas, Quaresmius, and Adrichomius, are associated with these early labours. The extended journeys of Protestant scholars have enlarged our acquaintance with objects of more general enquiry, and the names of Maundrell, Shaw, and Pococke, stand pre-eminent among these. The profound researches of both English and French critics, have laid open all the stores of learning in illustration of the ancient geography of

Judea ; and the works of Reland and D'Anville, are monuments of erudition and sagacity that would do honour to any country, while the labours of very recent travellers would seem to close the circle of our enquiries, by the pictures which they have given of the general state of manners and the present aspect of the country, retaining still the freshness of their original colouring.

Yet among all those who have made the Holy Land the scene of their researches, there has not been one who did not conceive that he was able to correct and add to the labours of his predecessors, and, indeed, who did not really notice something of interest which had been disregarded before. It is thus that Dr. Clarke expresses his doubts and disbelief at every step, and attempts to refute, with indignation, authorities which travellers of every age had hitherto been accustomed to venerate. And it is thus, too, that Chateaubriand confesses, with all the frankness of disappointment, that after he had read some hundreds of volumes on the country he came to visit, they had given him no accurate conceptions of what he subsequently beheld for himself.

I come then, like those who have preceded me, with a profession of dissatisfaction at the incompleteness of all that has been written before, and with the belief and assurance that I

am able to add something new and interesting to the general fund of human knowledge, and more particularly to our local acquaintance with the country of Judea.

As the cradle of our religion, and the scene of all that is venerable in Holy Writ; as the birth-place of classic fable, interwoven with Phœnician history; as a theatre of the most heroic exploits during the Jewish, the Roman, and the Saracenian wars; as a field moistened with the best blood of our ancestors in the wild and romantic age of the crusades; and even now, at the present hour, as a fair and lovely portion of the earth, still favoured with the dews of heaven, and blessed with the most benignant sky; it is impossible to pass through it with indifference, and equally so, not to set some value on the impressions which these objects and these recollections excite.

It will be expected that I should say something of my qualifications to execute the task of giving these impressions to the world in a form that may deserve their notice.

As far as my earliest recollections guide me, the desire of visiting distant regions was even in infancy the prominent one of my heart. At the early age of nine years, the gratification of this passion was promised to me by embarking as a sailor on an element that had more charms for

me than terrors. At the age of ten I was made a prisoner of war, and it being at the period of the French revolution, in which the Spaniards were their allies in 1796, I was conveyed with my shipmates to the port of Corunna.

After a confinement of some time there, we set out on our march towards Lisbon, and at this tender age, though exposed to the inclemency of the autumnal rains, often sleeping in the open air, scaling rugged and snow-clad mountains barefoot, and subject to all the privations of prisons in a foreign land; the charm of novelty, and the fascinating beauties of nature which presented themselves alternately in their wildest, their loveliest, and their most romantic forms, made me forget that I was a captive, and often occasioned my young heart to bound with joy under trials, which, without such enthusiasm to support them, would have broken the stoutest spirit.

This infant passion was strengthened rather than subdued by my journey through the finest parts of Spain and Portugal; and, since that period, a series of voyages to America, the Bahama islands, and the West Indies, while they furnished fresh food for enquiry, strengthened more and more the ardent passion for discovery and research.

The Mediterranean next became the scene of

my wanderings. Those who have had an early love of classic literature, and a veneration for all that illustrates it, can alone tell what are the feelings excited by a first view of objects in nature which were before known to us only in books. The elegant poetry of Lord Byron is full of them, and though it belongs only to a genius like his to express those feelings well, yet men of humbler talents may and do experience them with equal force.

From the moment of my passing within the portals of Calpé and Abyla, and seeing those pillars of Hercules recede behind my vessel, Egypt, Greece, Phœnicia, Palestine, Italy, and Mauritania, all opened upon my view at once. The desire of visiting them I had always felt: this desire was now nurtured into hope, and from that moment I constantly believed, that I should tread most of the scenes which I have since trodden, and behold with delight the objects which I had so long contemplated with admiration.

It was now that I applied myself, with more than common ardour, to the reading of every book within my reach that was likely to extend my knowledge of the interesting countries by which I was on all sides surrounded; and, unfavourable as the incessant duties, and the hardy life of a sailor are to such studies, every moment

that I could spare from the vigilant watch, which squalls, and storms, and pirates, and more open enemies, constantly demanded, and from all the complicated claims which commerce and navigation enforced on my attention, was given to study.

Sicily, Malta, the continent of Greece, the islands of the Archipelago, the coasts of Asia Minor, and the Gulf of Smyrna, gave me only a foretaste, but certainly a most delicious one, of what was yet reserved for me to enjoy.

Alexandria at length received me into her port; and the Pharos, the Catacombs, Cleopatra's Obelisk, and Pompey's Pillar, were all objects of youthful veneration, which I now beheld with correspondent pleasure.

I ascended the Nile, with the Odyssey and Télémaque in either hand; and Homer and Fénélon never interested me more than upon the banks of this sacred stream.

The proud capital of the khalifs "Misr, the mother of the world;" "Kahira the victorious," placed me amid the scenes of oriental story. The venerable Pyramids carried me back to the obscurity of ages which are immemorial. The ruins of Heliopolis inspired the recollections of Pythagoras, and the Grecian sages who had studied in its colleges; and the hall of Joseph brought before my view the history of Abraham and his posterity, of Moses and Pharaoh, and

of all the subsequent events that befel the race of Israel.

My attention was now directed towards India, by the desire which the mercantile community of Egypt had to renew their ancient intercourse with this country by way of the Red Sea. I was chosen as an agent in the work, and embarked in it. In the mean time, it was represented to me as desirable, that a more competent knowledge of the navigation of this sea should be obtained, and as the task required only duties which were familiar to me, I set out to accomplish it.

With this view, I ascended the Nile to Keneh, in order to cross over from thence to Kosseir, having with me excellent instruments for nautical purposes. I did not pass Hermopolis and Antinoë, Panopolis and Abydos, Diospolis and Tentyra, without an enthusiastic, and I may say a minute examination of their fine remains. I was near to Coptos; but Thebes, Hermonthis, Elythia, Apollinopolis, Ambos, and Syene, with the cataracts of Philoë and Elephantina, were still beyond me. The passage to Kosseir was obstructed at this time, and hopes were entertained of its being re-opened after some few days. I hesitated not a moment, but again spread forth the sail upon the Nile for still more southern skies.

At Thebes I remained a week. At Esneh or Latopolis, I met with the late lamented, and most accomplished traveller, Mr. Burckhardt. We remained together for three or four days, scarcely absent from each other's sight for a moment, and scarcely ever silent, so much had we to enquire of and to communicate to each other. We separated, Mr. Burckhardt for the Desert, and I to continue my course still upward on the stream.

I reached the cataracts. The intelligence received here of the wonderful monuments beyond this, determined me to pursue their traces as far southward as they could be found. I procured another boat and embarked. The temples of Daboat, of Taefa, and Galabshee ; the quarries and inscriptions of Gartaasy ; the stupendous cavern, with its alley of sphinxes, and colossal statues at Garfeecy ; and the highly-finished sculptures of the beautiful temple of Dukkey, rewarded the undertaking, and induced me to consider the monuments of Nubia as belonging to a higher class of art than even those of Egypt.

I had received the first attack of an opthalmia on quitting Mr. Burckhardt, who himself laboured under this disease at Esneh. I now, however, became gradually blind ; and as the least glare of light was painful to me, even while

my eyes were closed, it was in vain to think of penetrating further.

I returned from Nubia with regret, but rich, as I then thought, in the spoils of the enterprise.

An accurate chart of the Nile, as far as I had ascended it, with a delineation of the islands and inferior cataracts that we had passed; an observation which fixed with some precision the tropic of Cancer passing through the largest of these rapids; the latitude of Dukkey, the extreme point of my voyage; with measured plans, and pretty ample details of all the monuments of antiquity that we had found; were the result of my labours on this unanticipated excursion beyond the Nubian frontier.

I descended to Keneh; and though the obstacles which at first obstructed my passage of the Desert were rather augmented than diminished, I determined on making the attempt, and accordingly set out with all the precautions which it was in my power to use.

The result was, as had been predicted. I was stripped naked among the mountains, plundered of money, papers, arms, and instruments, and abandoned to my fate. I had to trace this rocky path naked and barefoot, scorched by day and frozen by night, for it was in the depth of the Egyptian winter. I continued for two days without food or water, and

the first nourishment of which I partook was some raw wheat from a sack, which, swelling in the stomach, had nearly proved fatal to me.

When I lay down at Kosseir I was unable to rise again, or to support the weight of my body, from the wounded state of my swoln and lacerated feet. A mutiny of the soldiery, and a general commotion among the people here, rendered it impossible to obtain a passage by sea from hence to any part of the opposite coast; besides which, as my instruments were gone, my labours would have availed but little in the task originally intended, that of examining nautically and hydrographically the upper part of the Red Sea.

I retraced my steps to Keneh without interruption, by taking another route, descended the Nile rapidly without suffering any impediments to retard the progress of our vessel, and again reposed from my toils in the hospitable mansion of Colonel Missett, one of the most amiable and worthy of men.

During my second stay at Cairo, I applied myself with great zeal to the study of the Arabic language, of which I had already acquired a slight knowledge colloquially, and after making some progress in it, assumed the dress of an Egyptian Fellah, crossed the desert of Suez to examine its port, returned by a more northern

route to explore the traces of the ancient canal which had connected the Nile with the Arabian Gulf, visited Bubastis, Tanis, and other celebrated ruins, with the Lake of Menzaleh, in the Lower Egypt, crossed from Damietta along the edge of the Delta to Rosetta, and returned at length to Alexandria, the original point of my departure.

At this period, the Egyptian government were desirous of getting some large and fast-sailing vessels into the Red Sea; but, Mohammed Ali being refused permission to send ships round the Cape, and disappointed in promised supplies from India, I offered to undertake the work of restoring the ancient canal, which I had just returned from examining, or of transporting two beautiful American brigs belonging to the Pasha, which then lay in the harbour of Alexandria, across the desert to Suez. The practicability of these operations was satisfactorily explained to our Consul-general, Colonel Missett, through whom the correspondence officially passed, and he gave it his warm support; but they were undertakings which the Turks could neither sufficiently appreciate nor accurately comprehend.

My study of the Arabic language was resumed, and continued during my second stay here, till a more favourable occasion offering for

the prosecution of my intended voyage to India, I left Alexandria, and came now by the way of the canal and the ruins of Hermopolis Parva, on the west of the Nile, to Cairo.

From this capital I again set out, wearing the dress of a Mamlouk, and associating with the soldiery, and accompanied a caravan of five thousand camels, and about fifty thousand pilgrims, for Mecca.

We embarked at Suez, having with us the Harem of the Egyptian Pasha, who were going to the Holy City to perform their pilgrimage, and to greet their lord on his triumphant return from the Wahabee war.

We sailed. The vessel in which I was embarked upset in a squall, and was nigh to foundering; several lives were lost, and I myself narrowly escaped, with the loss of all that I possessed except my papers.

We arrived at Jedda. I was so ill from a combination of sufferings, as to be obliged to be carried on shore in a litter. The project which I had entertained of going to Mecca from hence was defeated by the necessity of making myself known, or dying of want.

The Suffenut-ul-Russool, a ship under English colours, arrived from India. I was taken on board her at the request of her humane commander, Captain Boog, and through his kind

and friendly attentions I recovered rapidly. Mr. Burckhardt, who was then at Mecca on pilgrimage, and to whom I sent a messenger, came down to see me, and remained with me for several days. Besides the consolations of his valuable society, I received from him the warmest and most unequivocal proofs of his friendship. He left us, and I heard from him again by a letter which he had written to me from Medina.

We prosecuted our voyage to India, and arrived at Bombay; the only benefit I had yet reaped from it being the collection of materials for a more accurate chart of the Red Sea than any now in use.

After a stay of some months in India, I returned again to Egypt by the same channel, in company with Mr. Babington, a fellow-voyager, to whom I owe more than any public testimony or private acknowledgment can ever repay. Previous to our leaving India, we had furnished ourselves with all the books to be procured, that would in any way illustrate the track we were about to pursue. The liberality of my friends, who were lovers of science and promoters of useful knowledge in every department, enabled me to furnish myself again with instruments for surveying; and the Periplus of the Erythrean

Sea offered us a fine field for commentary and correction.

We quitted India in one of the East India Company's ships of war. As it was the tempestuous monsoon, it obliged us to make the southern passage, by which means we saw a great deal of the eastern coast of Africa, from Azania and Adel to the Bay of Zeyla, and I had before traced the shores of Yemen from Bab-el-Mandeb to Dosar. Positions were established, views of remarkable lands taken, hydrographical errors corrected, and much light thrown on the learned disquisitions of Vincent upon the work which he had so laboriously illustrated.

We landed at Mokha, and from thence our passage up the Red Sea was altogether made in native vessels. This gave us opportunities of surveying, which could not otherwise have been enjoyed, with the advantage of touching at every port and creek in our way from Bab-el-Mandeb to Suez.

The voyage from India had been long and tedious, occupying nearly six months; but we accumulated in it such a valuable mass of hydrographical information as was of itself an ample reward for our labours, though these were indefatigable; and in addition to this acquisition, the mineralogy and geological features of the

Arabian shores had been illustrated by specimens which were thought worthy of the thanks of the Geological Society of London, to whom they were presented.

I met my former friend, Mr. Burckhardt, a third time at Cairo, on the point of setting out, as he then thought, for the interior of Africa. My stay in Egypt was very short, however, on this occasion.

The mercantile community of India being desirous of having some more explicit assurances of protection than they had yet received from the reigning government of Egypt, a treaty of commerce was framed and entered into by Mohammed Ali Pasha, for himself; the British Consul, for the subjects of his nation in Egypt; and myself, on behalf of my Indian friends.

This it was thought advisable to transmit to India as speedily as possible; and as it would be of infinite advantage to accompany it by personal explanations, it was proposed to me to be the bearer of it; first, because no one was more intimately acquainted with all the facts requiring explanation than myself; and, secondly, that it was intended that I should return to Egypt in charge of the first ships which might be sent to re-open the trade.

The passage by the Red Sea was now shut by the prevalence of the southerly winds, and there

was no hope of a speedy voyage by that channel. The route by Syria and Mesopotamia was chosen, and this I undertook to follow.

It was from this period, that the Travels announced in the present volume commenced; and the object of this introductory narrative has been to show, that I set out on them with some very ordinary qualifications, it is true, but yet with some very essential advantages. I possessed an ardour in the pursuit of enquiry and research, which all my previous sufferings had not in the least abated. I enjoyed a sound constitution, and great physical strength, with a capacity of conforming to foreign manners, from having been the greater part of my life out of England; and an intimate acquaintance with the national habits and religion of the people with whom I was about to associate; as well as a sufficient knowledge of their language for all the ordinary purposes of life, or such as did not include a critical acquaintance with their science or their literature.

Whether, with such qualifications as these, I shall be found to have fulfilled the expectations which the mention of them may excite, I cannot presume even to anticipate. Thus much is to be offered in extenuation:

First, that the notes were not intended for publication at the time of their being made, but, with much that I had written before, were pre-

served chiefly for the illustration of my own reading, and for subsequent transmission to one whose interest in all that could befal me was such as to render the most desultory and imperfect observations of more than common value in her esteem.

Secondly, That my journeys were often through countries, where writing, drawing, or minutely surveying any subject, would have been fatal; where we often travelled with our hands upon our swords, and our eyes keenly watching for secret plunderers, or more open enemies.

Thirdly, That the books which I had read, the leading features of them only being generally fresh in my memory, were not at all accessible to me throughout the route for their details, though my preparatory extracts from them were very numerous.

In the course of this journey, I saw the greater part of Palestine, and the country beyond the Jordan; traversed the eastern parts of Moab, Bashan Gilead, and the Auranites; crossed Phœnicia and the higher parts of Syria, in various directions from Baalbek by the snowy and cedar-crowned summits of Lebanon to the sea-coast, and from Antioch, by the ever-verdant banks of the Orontes, to Aleppo. I journeyed through Mesopotamia, by Ur of the Chaldees, to Nineveh and Babylon; and visited the great living cities

of Diarbekr, Mosul, and Baghdad in the way. I went from Ctesiphon and Seleucia by Dastagherd on the plains, and the pass of Zagras, through the mountains into Persia; and visited Ecbatana, Persepolis, and Shapoor, among the ancient, with Kermanshah, Hamadan, Isfahaun, and Shiraz, among the modern cities of Iran. This journey of twelve long months was protracted by dangers and obstacles, which no one had foreseen, and rendered tedious by repeated illness, arising from sufferings and privations in the way. My recovery from these, I owed, in one instance, to the hospitable attentions I received in the convent of Mar Elias, from the hands of the amiable Lady Hester Stanhope, a name that deserves to be immortalized, if talents and virtues of the highest order give claim to immortality; and, in another, to the friendly offices of Mr. and Mrs. Rich, in the bosom of whose family at Baghdad, I found all the consolations which benevolence and sympathy could bestow, and all the pleasures that learning, accomplishments, and refined taste could yield. When this long journey terminated at last, by returning me again to the society of my friends in India, it was the warm and incessant request of all who knew any thing of my labours that I would bring them before the public eye.

I had the happiness, during my stay at Bom-

bay, to live in a circle distinguished by the erudition, as well as the urbanity of its members. Mr. Erskine and Mr. Wedderburn, Dr. Steuart and Mr. Ashburner, with the ladies of the last two, are names which no tribute of mine can raise higher than they already stand in the estimation of all who know them.

It was in this circle that the idea of publication was first conceived. It was urged on me as a duty: it was advised as a means of acquiring reputation: it was suggested as a source of profit: it was hinted at as the only way to avoid reproach. The last consideration weighed with me, I think, more powerfully than all the others. I could not suffer it to be said, that I had enjoyed opportunities of adding to the common fund of human knowledge, and had neglected them; and though I trembled for the imperfections almost inseparable from that which is done in haste, yet the high opinion which I entertained of the judgment of those who met all my objections with new and more forcible arguments, fixed me at length in the determination.

I still retained the dress of an Arab during my second stay in Bombay, and my general appearance aided by the gravity of a full and and flowing beard, and a more perfect acquaintance with the Arabic tongue, imposed constantly on the natives as well as Europeans, even

when no disguise was aimed at; and a constant occurrence of anecdotes arose out of this deception. I had retained this dress, expecting that I might be called on to return again to Egypt, when it would have been useful; but the Egyptian prospects being less encouraging than they had been at first, the command of a ship was offered me for the Persian Gulf. My duties to others rendered it eligible to accept it, and the preparation of my papers for the press was necessarily interrupted. We sailed. A tempestuous voyage, as far as the latitude of 10° south, in this stormy monsoon, before we could make our westing and bear up for the northward, with none but very young and inexperienced officers to assist in the duties of the ship, so occupied my attention, that I had but little time to spare. From the moment of our entering the Persian Gulf, my duties became more urgent and pressing, and even such time as I could command while in that sea, was wholly devoted to the illustration of Arrian's voyage of Nearchus, with Vincent's dissertations on it; to the collection of materials for improving the charts of the Gulf now in use; and to the enlargement and correction of a memoir which I had drawn up before, (when at Ras-ul-Khyma, the principal port of the Arab pirates, acting as interpreter between the pirate chief

and the commander of a British squadron), on the rise and progress of this piratical tribe, with a series of their depredations, the history of our operations against them, and the subsequent events that these had given birth to.

At Bussorah, Bushire, and Muscat, my Arabic studies were continued; and while at sea, my whole attention was divided among the subjects enumerated; so that I returned to Bombay with a fresh stock of new materials, but no further arrangement of the old ones. We sailed from hence in order to complete our voyage, touching at most of the ports on the Malabar coast, at Colombo and Point de Galle in Ceylon, and at Madras and Vizagapatam on the coasts of Coromandel and Golconda, when we arrived at Calcutta. The incessant occupations of so busy and so varied a voyage as this, left me, however, no leisure for the task hitherto so long postponed; so that I may be said to have reached the capital of India with my materials as crude and undigested as at the moment my journey ended.

Here the encouraging hope of receiving the distinguished patronage of the Most Noble the Marquis of Hastings, the very flattering encomiums bestowed on the nature of my undertakings by the Right Reverend the Lord Bishop of Calcutta, the animating commendations of

my scientific and worthy friend, Colonel Mackenzie, the Surveyor General of India, and the warm and hearty encouragement given to me by the learned and excellent Dr. Lumsden, Professor of Arabic in the College of Fort William, stimulated me to fresh exertions; and by unwearied application, during the detached intervals of leisure which could be allowed me from amid other duties, I have endeavoured to condense these materials into the smallest possible compass without detracting from their interest, and to arrange them for publication.

It would be anticipating what will be better done, perhaps, by severer judges, to say any thing regarding the style, the arrangement, or the matter of the work. Some few preliminary remarks, I must, however, be permitted to make.

At every step of a traveller's progress through Palestine, his indignation is so roused by attempted impositions on his judgment, and sometimes even on his senses, that his warm expression of it, in pouring forth epithets of contempt for such absurdities, may sometimes be conceived to display a contempt for religion itself. Wherever the reader meets with such passages, he is intreated in the true spirit of that Christian charity, "which is not easily provoked, which thinketh no evil, which beareth all things, believeth all things, hopeth all things,

endureth all things," to put the most favourable construction on the passage that it will bear; and if the best of these is bad, to pass it by.

There are some anecdotes detailed, more particularly those witnessed at Jerusalem, which may be thought also unfit for the public eye, but they are too descriptive of the state of manners there to be wholly omitted. If I have given a colouring to these which is not in conformity with the reigning taste, I request the reader to pass them over in silence also, and attribute both these defects rather to my ignorance of the state of public feeling on these subjects among my own countrymen, from having mixed much more with foreigners, than to any wish of mine to shock the prejudices of the one class, or to offend the delicacy of the other.

With regard to the illustration of biblical and classical research, which is attempted in the following pages, I know of so many learned men who have erred in these rugged roads, that an unlettered wanderer, like myself, could scarcely hope to traverse them without often losing his path. The truly learned will, after all, however, best estimate the worth of the lights which are offered to them, since *they* know best the toils by which they are elicited, and the value even of the faintest ray to illumine a path that was before obscured by total darkness.

The opportunities which I enjoyed of visiting even those parts of Palestine most familiarly known, were accompanied with more favourable circumstances than usually falls to the lot of European travellers in these regions. Through the greater part of the country I passed as a native of it, wearing the dress and speaking the language of the Arabs, and by these means commanding a free intercourse with the people in their most unguarded moments, and opening sources of information which would otherwise have been inaccessible. From circumstances of a peculiar nature, I had occasion to cross this country in a greater number and variety of directions than has ever been done by any individual traveller before, as far as I am aware of; and although this interrupted the speed of my progress, it was attended with the advantage of enabling me to correct many geographical errors, and to verify the positions visited in these various routes.

But the most interesting portion of these Travels, and that which may be termed entirely new, is the country of Bashan and Gilead, east of the Jordan. That stream has hitherto been the boundary of all our knowledge regarding the ancient Judea, since no traveller, whose works are published, has yet explored the countries beyond it. Dr. Seetzen, a German, and Mr.

Burckhardt, a Swiss, the only persons who had visited them, are since dead, and their discoveries here are scarcely known even by name. Yet, independently of the high interest which this portion of the Jewish possessions cannot fail to excite in the minds of all those for whom the illustration of scriptural topography and sacred history have any charms, its importance, as the seat of ten Roman cities, giving the name of Decapolis to the region in which they were seated, must rouse the curiosity of the scholar to know something of its present state. The positions established here, of some among the threescore cities of Og, the king of Bashan, in the mountains of Gilead, will gratify the biblical enquirer; the ruins of some of the chief cities of the Decapolis will furnish food for the antiquarian; and the Greek inscriptions copied from amidst these ruins, will be interesting to the classical student and the man of letters.

My knowledge of Arabic enabled me also to collect much information as to the names of places that were not actually seen, but were yet within reach of our route; and it will be found that most of the leading features of the topography of this portion of the Jewish possessions, whether mountains, streams, or cities, were in this way identified with those described

in the histories of Moses, Joshua, and their successors.

Many of the vignettes are from original drawings, made after sketches taken on the spot; and as this is the least expensive and humblest way of adding graphic illustrations of the text, appropriate subjects have been selected from other sources, but invariably with a view to the elucidations of scenery, costume, or manners, and the accurate representations of places spoken of in the body of the work.

The introduction of a miniature portrait may seem to display an ostentatious desire of being known by the figure of one's person, as well as by one's labours. The history of it is this. The many amusing anecdotes to which my being dressed in the Turkish manner had given rise, induced the artist, Mr. Jukes, to request that I would sit to him for my picture. When finished, it was pronounced to be so perfect a resemblance, and the costume was altogether so well preserved, that it was determined to have it engraved. There are few persons, I believe, who in reading the travels of any man, have not desired to know more minutely what were the leading features of his person, and what was the description of dress in which he performed his journey. To such readers this, which cannot

be surpassed in fidelity, will be acceptable; there are none, it is hoped, by whom it will be deemed intrusive.

The ancient map of Palestine is taken, with very trifling alterations, from D'Anville, as the most generally known and approved authority on this subject, and the one most frequently referred to.

The map of the route pursued in these Travels has been laid down with great care, entirely from my own observations, and, in order to include many places altogether omitted in the ancient map, it is constructed on a larger scale, and the face of the country through which we passed is accurately delineated thereon.

The plan of the ancient Jerusalem, from the best authorities, is that which usually accompanies the works of Josephus; and will illustrate, better than any written description, the changes which have taken place in the site of this city.

The plan of the present aspect of the country, and the chief positions around the modern Jerusalem, has been constructed entirely from my own observations on the spot. It cannot fail to be interesting in itself, and illustrative, as a companion to the preceding one, of the changes which this celebrated capital of Judea has undergone.

The plan of the ruins of Geraza, in the country

of the Decapolis, beyond the Jordan, is laid down also from actual observations, corrected by two subsequent visits to the spot; as well as the plans of particular edifices, amid the interesting remains of this ancient city. And the Greek inscriptions found on the friezes, columns, and altars there, have been copied with the utmost care, and given as nearly as possible in their original form.

I wish I could have added to these the valuable drawings of my friend and fellow-traveller, Mr. Wm. Bankes, M.P. These I had no time to copy, though I am sure his liberality would have admitted of it; for while he was engaged in taking them, I was occupied in increasing our common store in another way. It is to be hoped, however, that with the illustration which this gentleman's known talents, pure taste, and extensive erudition, will be able to give to his fine collection of views in this country, and in Nubia, they will not remain long from the public.

The work is thus offered to the public as perfect as the humble talents, the interrupted leisure, and the limited means of the author would admit of its being made. He has endeavoured, however, amidst all these obstacles, to render it worthy of the patronage of men of learning, as well as general readers; and he is confident, that to all those who feel an interest in the elucida-

tion of scriptural history and geography, that portion of these volumes which treats of the countries east of the Jordan, will be found to possess more merit than the mere charm of novelty; while the pictures of a new country and a new people, which these hitherto unexplored regions unfold, cannot be destitute of interest, even to those who read only for amusement. It is in the humble hope that all classes of readers will find something to repay their search, that the Travels in Palestine are thus offered to the community at large, and in the earnest desire of their approbation, that they are now sent forth to receive their award.

CONTENTS

OF

THE FIRST VOLUME.

CHAPTER I.

Voyage from Egypt to Syria..... Page 1

CHAPTER II.

Stay at Soor, the ancient Tyrus..... 51

CHAPTER III.

Journey from Soor to Acre..... 84

CHAPTER IV.

Description of the Town of Acre..... 112

CHAPTER V

Journey from Acre to Nazareth..... 135

CHAPTER VI.

Ascent of Mount Tabor..... 157

CHAPTER VII.

Mount Carmel, Dora, and Cæsarea..... 176

CHAPTER VIII.

By Joppa and Ramlah to Jerusalem..... 226

CHAPTER IX.

Visit to Ramlah, and Enquiries into its History.... Page 251

CHAPTER X.

Journey from Ramlah, through the Mountains, to Jerusalem..... 266

CHAPTER XI.

Visit to the Holy Places, chiefly without the walls of Jerusalem..... 286

CHAPTER XII.

Excursion to Bethlehem, and the Cave of the Nativity.. 329

CHAPTER XIII.

Visit to the Cisterns of Solomon..... 348

CHAPTER XIV.

Examination of the Interior of Jerusalem..... 359

CHAPTER XV.

Visit to Calvary, and the Tomb of Christ..... 382

LIST OF PLATES.

VOL. I.

Portrait ..... *to face the Title.*
Map of Palestine, with the Route ..... *to face page* 1
Plan of Ancient Jerusalem 359

VOL. II.

Plan of the Modern Jerusalem 16
Plan of the Ruins of Geraza 137
Peripteral Temple at Geraza, and Theatre 168
Temple of Jupiter at Geraza, and Theatre 201
Extensive Bath at Geraza, &c. 214
Inscriptions 238

LIST OF VIGNETTES.

VOL. I.

	Chap.	Page
Pharos of Alexandria	i	5
Tyre as viewed from the Sea	ii	75
Fountains of Ras el Ain	iii	90
Bay of Acre and Promontory of Mount Carmel	iv	113
Grotto of the Disciples on the Summit of Mount Tabor	vi	162
Approach to Jaffa from the Northern Beach	viii	247
Town of Ramlah as seen from the West	ix	263
View of the Mountains of Judea from Ramlah	x	266
Ancient Tombs in the Valley of Jehoshaphat	xi	295
Tomb of Rachel between Jerusalem and Bethlehem	xii	337
The Cisterns of Solomon near Jerusalem	xiii	349
Exterior View of the Domes and Tower of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem	xiv	377
Interior View of the Dome of the Holy Sepulchre, and Tomb of Christ	xv.	388

VOL. II.

A Plan of the City of Jerusalem	xvi	2
Escort of Arabs through the deep Passes of the Mountains from Jerusalem to Jericho	xvii	54
Camels descending from the Hills of Bashan to drink at the River Jordan	xviii	95
Arab Tribe breaking up their Encampment, and removing their Flocks	xix	107
A Triumphal Gateway, and Ruins of Jerash	xx	140
Circular Colonnade at Geraza	xxi	156
Ancient Sarcophagi at Geraza	xxii	242
Hot Springs and Bath near the Hieromax	xxiv	300
View of the Lake Tiberias from above the Town	xxv	319
Ruins of Capernaum on the Lake of Tiberias	xxvi	344
Ruined Baths on the Lake of Tiberias	xxvii	357
Ancient Sarcophagi on the Plain of Esdraelon	xxviii	380
View among the Hills of Samaria	xxix	422
Approach to the Castle of Sanhoor	xxx	468

Map
of
PALESTINE,
The Route
JORDAN
1818
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
DEAD SEA

TRAVELS

IN

PALESTINE, &c.

CHAP. I.

VOYAGE FROM EGYPT TO SYRIA.

December 25th, 1815. The many obstacles which had retarded my departure from Alexandria, from day to day, being at length removed, and a favourable wind blowing from the south-west, I took leave of my friends there, and, accompanied by Mr. Thurburn and Mr. Babington, my fellow-voyager from India to Egypt, embarked on board the vessel in which I had taken my passage for the coast of Syria on the morning of Christmas-day.

These gentlemen had the kindness to remain with me until we were under way, and had cleared the pharos of the new harbour, when I had again to undergo the most painful of all guiltless feelings,—that of bidding adieu to tried and well-loved friends, with scarcely a hope of our ever meeting again.

When the spacious okellas of the European quarter, now crowned with the flags of her respective nations, began to sink beneath the line of the visible horizon, and the towering column of Dioclesian, the obelisk of Cleopatra, and the lofty lantern of the pharos were the only objects that remained in sight to mark the speed with which we receded from the port, I felt a degree of regret which even the ardour for new scenes was not sufficient to conquer. It was in vain that I remembered the glow of enthusiasm with which I once saluted these proud monuments of Alexandria's former glory, on my first approaching Egypt's classic shores. It was in vain that I endeavoured to recall the charm of that fairy hope which even then, amid more powerful causes for despondency than now existed, bore me lightly on my way, and strewed that way with flowers. The influence of these united feelings, often as it had supported me before, and warmly as I courted its aid, availed me nothing at the present moment; so that, when the evening sun became obscured by the dark bed of western clouds into which he sunk, I yielded myself, in spite of every struggle of my judgment, to the sadness of that solitude by which I felt myself surrounded.

My eyes continued fixed upon the spot I had quitted with such regret, until the broken emi-

nences of the shore had gradually dwindled into almost indistinguishable specks, and till at length the darkness of the night had completely shrouded even these from my view.

26th. Impatience for the return of day had forced me to quit my birth before the stars had faded; and although I expected no augmentation of happiness from the presence of the sun more than from the milder light of those orbs which were soon lost in his refulgence, yet I felt a glow of satisfaction at beholding the first blush of dawn in the east, as it cheated me into a hope of its opening for me a day of less suffering than the preceding.

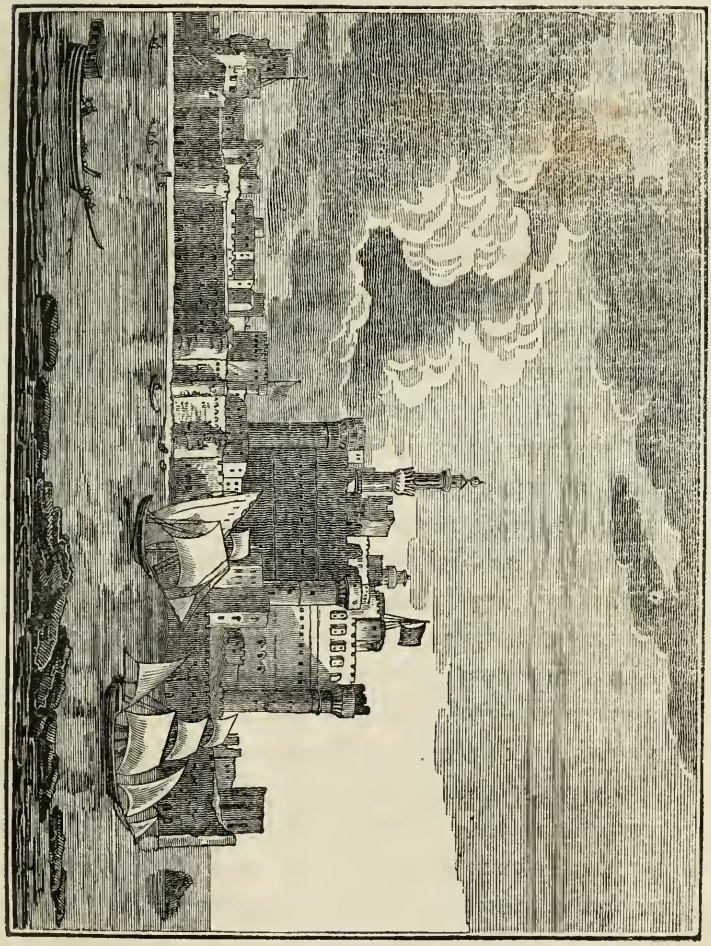
The favourable wind with which we had sailed having declined during the night, was followed by a calm; and the current attributed to the discharge of the Nile had swept us again to the westward, so that we found ourselves within a few miles of the island and castle of Aboukir. As the day advanced, the wind freshened from the eastward, and at last settled into a steady north-east breeze.

Our captain, as well as all the passengers and crew, were desirous of returning to Alexandria, insisting with great truth that the slow progress which we should make against a strong contrary wind was not to be reckoned an advantage, when it incurred the risk of errors in night-

sailing, and the dangers of a lee-shore on a shoal coast. A sense of duty, rather than a want of conviction of the justice of these remarks, induced me to urge our continuing at sea whether we made any progress on our way or not. To encourage their compliance with my request, I stated to them my professional capacity, as well as my willingness to take charge of the vessel, and conduct her navigation during the continuance of the contrary wind; and this had the effect of making them agree unanimously to keep under sail a little longer.

The vessel in which I had embarked, was one of those called a Shuktoor, and seemed peculiar to the navigation of the Syrian coast. Its length was about thirty feet, and its extreme breadth fifteen, but being of shallow draught, its burthen could not have exceeded forty tons. Small as it was, it had three masts, two of them being fixed nearly at the extreme points of the frame, and the principal one a little before the centre of the hull. On the fore and mizen masts were carried a latteen sail, exactly similar in size and form to those worn by the Egyptian jerms, and on the main-mast were a square course, a topsail, and a top-gallant sail, all fitted like the central sails in a polacca ship, and the mast rigged in the same way.*

* See the Vignette on the opposite page.



PHAROS OF ALEXANDRIA.

This vessel being chiefly employed in the transportation of corn and rice from Egypt to Syria, with the former of which she was now laden, had the security of a good deck fore and aft, with regularly raised gunwales, hatchways, &c. From the mizen-mast to the stern-post, a space of about six feet in length, a raised poop formed a small cabin, the highest part of which was less than three feet, so that it was necessary to enter it on all-fours, and when within it, to continue in a reclining posture; as even when sitting on the bare deck the body could not be held upright. The only aperture for the admission of light or air into the cabin was the door of entrance, which was exactly two feet square: more than half its interior was already occupied by baskets of rice, clusters of dates, &c. belonging to the captain; and in the centre of the foremost bulkhead, in a small recess, a dim lamp was kept constantly burning, the oil and heat of which attracted some hundreds of young cock-roaches and other insects around it.

In sails, furniture, and ground tackle, the vessel appeared to be as well furnished as those of the Levant generally are, and between her fore and main mast was carried a boat sufficiently large to contain every one on board, in the event of the vessel's foundering or stranding on the coast.

The captain and his crew, altogether ten in number, were Syrian Arabs of the Greek religion, and their persons and dresses, as well as their language, evinced a singular mixture of the native manners of their country with the acquired ones of their church. In the management of their vessel, they were unskilful, and of navigation none of them appeared to have any knowledge. An English compass stood in a binnacle before the helmsman, but he very seldom regarded it; and no account was taken either of the rate or of the courses steered, beyond a general aim to make as much northing and easting as possible, and trust to a look-out for avoiding dangers.

Among them all, the most perfect equality seemed to exist, and no one appeared to have any peculiar charge while the vessel was at sea; as on several occasions the oldest sailor was employed in cooking, the youngest at the helm, and the captain holding-on a brace, or hauling out a bow-line. The same equality entered into their amusements when card-parties were formed on the deck, in which every individual of the crew joined by turns: as they did not play for money, the losers were condemned to undergo some ridiculous penance, and, among others, it fell to the lot of the captain, in the course of the day, to suffer himself to be plunged over-

board, and ducked beneath the surface of the water by each of the victors, and again to perform some feats of activity, while burthened with a load of baskets and other packages suspended around his neck. Amid the bursts of laughter excited by these ludicrous exhibitions, there was neither the slightest appearance of anger or ill-humour in the suffering party, nor of malicious triumph on the part of those who witnessed them.

Besides the crew, there were on board two Mahommedan passengers, one a Syrian Turk, the other a respectable Arab trader from Tunis, some Muggrebin Moors, and a Syrian Christian merchant, with four others apparently attached to his establishment, and partaking of his fare. The Barbary trader and the Syrian merchant, though differing essentially in their religion, and liable to jealousies, from their pursuit of the same object, and though these differences were marked by external badges calculated to nourish pride in the one and mortification in the other, seemed to associate together with unusual harmony. They jointly occupied a small space left open in the main hatchway, and smoked their pipes and drank their coffee together in a social equality that did honour to the feelings of both. The Moors from Barbary lay in the boat upon each other, and the Christians stretched them-

selves along on different parts of the deck; while the crew, who were not divided into watches, either slept or sang, or played, or were engaged in duty, as the occasion demanded.

The small cabin already described was the part of the ship appropriated to my accommodation; but though it had been dignified by the captain with the epithet of "camera superba," and eighty piastres had been paid for it for so short a voyage, I crawled into it with reluctance at night, and out of it with pleasure at day-break, without entering it for a moment in the long interval between, as the deck was far preferable.

27th. The strong north-east wind had declined in the night, and at dawn it was a perfect calm. A favourable change being now apprehended, the aid of devotion was called in to hasten it, and I was soon driven from my cabin by the entrance of the captain and four of the sailors, who literally filled it, and who, until I had removed, had not room to perform their genuflections before the lamp, which was kept constantly burning to St. George, their patron saint. During their prayers, clouds of incense were offered up at this humble altar, and at sunrise, the same censer was carried round the ship, and all, except the Mahommedans, were perfumed with its sacred odours, consecrated by

the holiness of the purpose to which it had been just applied.

The calm still continued, and the current poured out by the discharge of the western branch of the Nile sent us back all the little distance which we had advanced by yesterday's hard beating. Noisy songs, accompanied by the tambour and clapping of hands, succeeded the devotions of the morning, to drive away the listless hours of the calm; and upon this again followed the card-playing described before, the penances of which were beyond measure ridiculous. Among the rest, some were condemned to have their faces marked with ludicrous emblems, others to wear pieces of cloth in the form of asses' ears springing from their temples, and others to play their cards while their arms were pinioned by a pole, and a long wooden skewer was stuck horizontally across their mustachios. The victor, in one instance, wore a flag planted in his turban, and in another was honoured with the privilege of bearing a sword, while a flat circular piece of basket-work was affixed to his left arm to represent a shield.

At 10 A. M. we had a light breeze from the northward, the sky clear, the thermometer at 68°, and the water alongside of a muddy colour and fresh taste, with about three fathoms depth.

The bar at the outlet of the Rosetta branch of the Nile was now distinctly visible a-head, and a fleet of about fifty jerms* was seen coming out, bound for Alexandria, for which port the wind was highly favourable.

We continued to advance so slowly, with a scant wind and a contrary current, that at noon the vessel had scarcely changed her place or altered the bearing of the land; while the jerms going off with a flowing sheet were soon out of sight to the westward.

The wind freshened in force, but still continued in the same quarter throughout the afternoon, enabling us to stem the current of the Nile, and get into clearer and salter water.

The edge of division between the muddy stream of the river and the greener mass of the sea, was most distinctly marked, as well by their striking difference of colour as by the rippled agitation of the one, and the comparative stillness of the other. The current of the Nile rushing out at the rate of about three knots an hour to the northward, appeared to continue its force, undiminished, for nearly five miles beyond its mouth. The united resistance of the northerly wind upon its surface, and the whole body of the sea upon its under stream, could be no

* جرم a large boat with latteen sails, peculiar to the Egyptian coast.

longer opposed; so that, weakened by these powerful causes, it curved off gradually to the westward, and occasioned the westerly set which had impeded our progress thus far.

In passing from the turbid waters of the river into the less troubled ones of the sea, we had scarcely any difference of soundings; the depth, by the lead, varying irregularly from three to three and a half and four fathoms. In both cases the ground was soft, and the mud adhering to the plummet was of a dark brown colour mixed with sand. The struggles of this celebrated stream against the sea, besides recalling a world of agreeable recollections connected with my voyage along its banks, and placing before me the striking features of its fame in classic ages, reminded me very forcibly of a modern bard's description of the conflict of Oronooko with the ocean.*

* ——————— The battle's rage
Was like the strife which currents wage.
Where Oronooko, in his pride,
Rolls to the main no tribute tide,
But 'gainst broad ocean urges far
A rival sea of roaring war;
While in ten thousand eddies driven,
The billows fling their foam to heaven;
And the pale pilot seeks in vain,
Where rolls the river where the main.

Rokeby, Canto I. 18.

We continued standing on to the eastward until sun-set, shoaling from four to three fathoms on a sandy bottom, and gradually approaching the coast to within about three miles, when we tacked off to the northward to obtain sea-room.

At 8 P. M., having made an offing into five fathoms' sand, we tacked again and stood on to the easward, the wind still blowing from the N. N. E., but sufficiently moderate to enable us to carry all sail. In the course of the evening, we passed a boat from Cyprus to Alexandria, as supposed by the course she was steering. The night was clear, but extremely cold, the thermometer having fallen to 52°.

28th. The wind had again declined during the night, and left us nearly becalmed at day-break. The lamp of the cabin having been suffered to go out from the negligence of the boy whose duty it was to trim it, our ill-fortune with regard to wind was unhesitatingly attributed to this heinous sin of omission. A noisy altercation ensued upon the discovery of this calamity, and as the cabin was occupied by one who was not of their church, some whispers floated among the crew as to the possible influence of heretical envy and malice, which, as they passed in Arabic, I perfectly understood, but to which I thought it prudent to make no reply. All hands were

now summoned to prayers, and the lamp was not only again lighted, but a gilded picture of St. George slaying the dragon was produced from the captain's chest, and placed in the same recess. To this, volumes of incense were offered up, and the whole cabin was soon filled with smoke, so that the prayers which succeeded were alternately hastened through with all possible rapidity, and interrupted with the coughing produced by such suffocating clouds of perfume.

In spite of all this fervour of devotion, the wind freshened again from the north-east, and anger and disappointment taking the place of piety and fear, the poor culprit boy was tied up and severely flagellated; each of the crew, from conceiving themselves more innocent, being ready to inflict the first lash. The Mohammedans on board were highly scandalized at so impious and absurd a proceeding, and calmly asked whether the winds were not in the hands of God, who would either withhold them from us or send them to our aid, as his mercy and goodness saw fit? Neither their remonstrances nor their demands produced any reply, and the punishment of the poor boy was continued without compassion. When the rest of the crew had each given a stripe, the man who on the preceding day had officiated as cook came to

close the punishment, but while his arm was still uplifted to inflict the lash, the boy looked steadfastly upon him, and exclaimed in a tone of anger mixed with the firmness of determined revenge, "If you strike me, I will betray you." The man hesitated, and would have even desisted, but that the others obliged him to give the blow, and on releasing the boy, they insisted also upon his disclosing what he meant by the threat. From his answer it appeared that the crew, who were all communicants of the Greek church, were now performing the fast which precedes their feast of the Nativity, that holiday falling twelve days after the common Christmas-day, as their chronology continues still to be regulated by the old style. During the fast it was deemed sinful to partake of any flesh-meats, or even to inhale their odour; and any breach of the rigid discipline enforced on such occasions was thought to be sufficient to draw down exemplary punishment on the offender. It had occurred in the course of the preceding day that my servant was employed at the galley in preparing for me a fowl curry, on which occasion he had unthinkingly used a wooden spoon belonging to the vessel. A large kettle of dourra* was afterwards put on the fire to be boiled for the

* دُرَة the name given to millet in Egypt and Syria.

supper of the crew, and the cook without knowing the purpose to which the spoon had been applied, used it to stir the mess while the defiling gravy of the fowl still remained upon it. The boy who had witnessed this, was sufficiently shocked to express his scruples, but was silenced by the entreaties, and at last the threats of the man; so that the whole crew had been thus made to commit a crying sin, in eating a dish of boiled corn stirred with a greasy ladle, during one of the most solemn fasts of their church.

This was considered even as a more powerful cause for the anger of Heaven than the extinction of the lamp, but as every one had shared in the actual commission of this gross enormity, they only hung their heads in apparently unaffected contrition, and were too much absorbed in reflections on the crime to inflict a punishment on him who had been the cause of it, so that the man escaped.

At noon the wind was still strong and contrary. Our soundings through the forenoon were from five to three fathoms on a soft sandy bottom, in which latter depth we tacked at about two miles off a low and barren shore, and stood to the N.N.W.

Two jerms heaving in sight to the eastward soon closed with us, and as they were apparently bound for Rosetta or Alexandria, I prepared a

short letter for Colonel Missett, while our colours were displayed as a signal of our wish to communicate. At one, P.M., the sternmost vessel dropped alongside, and the letter was thrown on board, rolled in a piece of canvass and rendered heavy by the enclosure of five piastres, as a present to ensure its safe delivery.

We here tacked again, and stood along the coast to the eastward; the weather fine, wind N.N.E., water smooth, and thermometer 65° at 2 P.M.

Throughout the afternoon, we continued to advance at the slow rate of about a mile an hour; our soundings varying from five to four fathoms, at a distance of about three miles from the shore.

At sunset, having land open off our weather-bow, which it would be impossible for us to clear on our present course, we tacked off to the northward, with an increasing breeze and a heavy swell setting from the E.N.E.

The night was dark and cloudy, and the thermometer at 50° at 10 P.M., a degree of cold which made us all feel uncomfortable.

29th. We had tacked to the eastward at midnight; and at dawn were still struggling against a scant wind and contrary current, with the coast of the Delta barely visible under our lee.

Fresh arguments and remonstrances against the inutility of continuing at sea, contending with the elements without a hope of successfully opposing them, were again poured upon me at the moment of my crawling from my cabin, even before I could raise myself from my position of all-fours to meet my adversaries face to face.

The captain and the crew were as strenuous as before in their opinions that we should return to port, where, they said, they had the pleasure of living chiefly on shore; of hearing the news and chit-chat of the coffee-houses; and where they slept tranquilly every night: whereas here, besides the toil and fatigue of buffetting the winds and waves, their food was scanty, their nights passed in constant watching, and their apprehensions of danger kept alive by the length of the darkness and the nature of the coast.

If the crew, however, were *earnest* in their advice, the passengers were *vehement* in their declamation, and scrupled not to call me "an ignorant and headstrong fool," for persisting in a course which, without one apparent advantage resulting from it, positively prolonged the suffering and inconvenience of every one on board, and seemed like a defiance of the Almighty Power, by courting an unnecessary exposure to certain and continual risk.

This last sentence so worked upon the piety of every one, both Mahommedans and Christians, as nearly to have decided our fate; for it was no sooner uttered than orders were given to bear up, and the helm was actually clapped a-weather, and the after-sheets let go.

Alone and unsupported as I was (for even my old servant stood a silent spectator of the scene), I hesitated for a moment what step to take; until remembering how often I had seen sturdy perseverance prevail against every obstacle, I ran to the helm, and luffed the vessel once more to the wind, feigning at the same time an anger which I did not really feel, and calling them by the opprobrious epithets of cowards, women-hearted, hares, and husbandmen; terms of the greatest reproach to sailors in their language.

My cause would have been completely lost, however, had I not assured the Reis * that his emancipation from the avarice of the Egyptian government was entirely dependent on the British Consul at Alexandria; and that if he dared to return to that port without being driven there by absolute distress, I would not fail to represent his conduct as being in direct opposition to my wishes.

* رئيس a chief, head, &c. applied to all pilots and commanders of vessels.

This was enough: the fear of losing money operated more powerfully than any other consideration; and though the murmurs of the passengers were not so easily quelled, yet the captain was henceforth all submission, and the order was given to haul aft the sheets, and trim the sails to the wind again.

During the forenoon, the breeze freshened so considerably as to oblige us to reduce our canvass; and a heavy swell set us constantly to leeward upon the Delta shore, our soundings varying from six to four fathoms irregularly.

At noon, we were within a mile of the mouth of the Lake Booroolos; on the western beach of which are seen the remains of a square building. Over the eastern land we could perceive the masts of boats upon the lake itself, and a short distance to the eastward the minareh* of a mosque, the dome of a saint's tomb, and several clusters of date-trees. The whole line of the coast is here composed of yellow sand-hills from forty to fifty feet in height, loose and shifting in their nature, and completely barren; the few date-trees seen over them being situated

* The name applied peculiarly to the tall and slender tower of a mosque, either from the Arabic word, منار a candlestick, lamp, light-house, or pharos; or from the Persian word, مينار a tower or spire in general.

on a firmer soil within. A minareh and the appearance of dwellings is seen about a mile farther to the eastward than those already mentioned. Beyond this, the coast runs in nearly a north-east direction for four or five miles, forming a continued chain of yellow and barren sand-hills, until it terminates in the low cape called Ras-el-Booroolos, off which the British ship Jiuste was wrecked in March, 1814.

Having stood into three fathoms water, with discoloured patches and broken ground all around us, we tacked off to the northward, in order to weather the cape. In reviewing the coast from every point of direction, I felt the same impressions as those which my land-journey along its shores had before suggested: namely, that its appearance was unfavourable to the idea of the Delta being wholly the gift of the Nile; and that whatever changes might have been produced at the apex of this island by the alluvium of the river, its base being composed of sand-hills and salt-lakes extending many leagues in-shore, betrays the strongest symptoms of its being entirely gained from the sea, and of the river never having reached it to leave any of its deposit there.

The wind still freshening, with a heavy sea, we tacked at sunset, and stood along the coast to the eastward, having six and five fathoms by

the way. The night was dark, cloudy, and uncomfortably cold.

30th. The wind had now settled into a strong north-east gale, and the vessel being laden to within about ten inches of her upper railway, and at least six inches above her deck, the sea not only made a complete breach over her, but we became in danger of foundering, by the water lodging on her deck without finding an outlet overboard. Fresh cries to return to port, were therefore raised on all sides; and there was, in the present case, too evident a foundation for their fears to treat them as before.

From the estimated distance which we had advanced during the night, we had reason to believe ourselves abreast of Damietta; for which port I recommended them to bear up, if they were determined to seek shelter any where. At the same time, however, I endeavoured to dissuade them from the measure by urging the danger of the experiment if we should find ourselves too far to leeward of the bar on nearing the coast, and assuring them that by the exertions of the crew in baling the water off the deck as it entered, we might yet keep the sea without imminent danger. "To Alexandria, to Alexandria!" was the united cry; and nothing could have deterred them from the execution of

this step but the sense of shame, which I endeavoured to excite in them by every epithet but that of men and sailors.

To follow up this volley of reproaches by an example of encouragement, my servant and myself commenced baling in the lee-waist with buckets; and in little more than half an hour the deck was perfectly clear. We next had all the weighty and bulky articles, with which the deck was crowded fore and aft, removed in amid-ships, to ease the vessel's rolling and plunging in the sea; and being now under a double-reefed topsail and course, with all the smaller sails furled, we lay-to in safety.

The tone of command which I had thus unwillingly, but, as I thought, prudently assumed, seemed to give great offence to the passengers; but as they were all now helpless from sea-sickness, their murmurs were of less avail. The captain and the crew, on the other hand, though they at first expressed some repugnance at my opposition to their wishes, subsequently evinced a confidence in my direction beyond even my expectation; for the bare suggestion of a sail being badly trimmed, a rope too taut, or the helm ill managed, was sufficient to obtain the necessary amendment of the evil.

We all passed the day uncomfortably; the breaking sea rendering it impossible to cook any

food, and the violent motion of the vessel making it difficult even to read. At sunset we were cheered by a hope of the gale's abating.

31st. The morning dawned upon us with brighter prospects; the gale had abated, our reefs were shaken out, and as we were still in shoal water, the swell of the sea was rapidly subsiding.

A temporary evil offered considerable annoyance to the passengers, who had just risen as from the dead. The stock of fire-wood was expended to the last splinter, and not even sufficient could be mustered to prepare for them their morning cup of coffee. All tongues conspired to brand me as the cause of this and every other privation they had suffered; and the mortification was now the greater to them, as when they again reiterated "To port, to port!" I consented readily to their return, there being now an irregular swell, and scarcely wind enough to make the vessel answer to her helm.

At noon, we had an air from the eastward; and expecting that it would draw round more southerly in the course of the day, we stood on the larboard tack S. S. E., having good sea-room, and no land in sight. In the afternoon, a vessel passed under our lee standing to the westward, from some Syrian port; and at sunset the wind had drawn more northerly, and freshened again

into a strong breeze, obliging us to furl our small sails and reef our larger canvass. We now hauled up east, standing on that course with ten fathoms water, and no land in sight even from the mast-head.

1st January, 1816. The wind had entirely forsaken us again soon after midnight; and at dawn it was a perfect calm. All eyes were directed to the quarter from whence the breeze was desired, and every imagination pictured some favourable omen even in a cloudless sky. An unusual degree of devotion was also exercised on the occasion; as no one either ate, or drank, or smoked, or relieved the helm, or cast off or belayed a rope, without first crossing himself, and pointing to the five wounds of the crucified Messiah on his own body. Long prayers, with many kisses, were bestowed on the pictures of the patron saints, who were produced in full assembly; and clouds of incense filled every part of the vessel. A sum of money was then collected by subscription, to which we all contributed, Mahommedans and Christians; and this being enclosed in a white rag, was suspended to the head of the tiller, with prayers for its efficacy, and vows for its appropriation to some holy purpose, in the event of our obtaining a favourable wind by the inter-

cession of the saints to whom it was jointly offered.

The calm still continued, broken only at intervals by fleeting airs from the S.E., of a dry and suffocating nature; while the heat of the sun was scorching. On the preceding evening, the wind had blown strong from the N. N. E., bringing with it the cold of the Caramanian mountains on the south coast of Asia Minor, now covered with snow; and the thermometer stood then at 47°, about ten P. M., beneath the deck; and all the covering I could collect was insufficient to keep me warm: while, to-day, the mercury rose to 95° in the shade; and during the hot blasts which came off from the desert shore to the S. E. of us, even that degree of the thermometer can give but a faint idea of the oppression which this striking change occasioned.

As every one now gladly threw off the load of clothes which had before been rendered necessary by the severity of the cold, it had the beneficial effect of furnishing the most indolent with occupation. The vermin, with which ships like these and the crews of them invariably swarm, having lain dormant during the late unfavourable weather, had begun to feel the genial influence of its change, and had become

highly troublesome by their awakened activity. Every one on board, therefore, not even excepting myself (who had certainly quitted Alexandria clean, at least), was employed during the middle of the day in stripping off every garment, and destroying the host of enemies by which we were tormented.

2d. Still calm; water reduced to the last small barrel; the third day of our being without any prepared food, from want of fuel; the boghaz* of Damietta, with boats in its channel distinctly visible from the deck, after seven days hard beating against a contrary wind.

The day was one continued scene of uproar and quarrel; the noise of which, added to the harshness of the Syrian Arabic, in which all these vociferations of reproach and abuse were uttered, was absolutely distracting. Towards evening, we had light airs from the westward, variable and of short duration. The energies and attention of the crew were now requisite to profit by every breath that blew; but the discordance of the day seemed to have rendered them as stupid as they were ill-humoured; and though the wind was always abaft the beam,

* A name applied to bars of rivers and harbours, and even to narrow passes on shore; probably a Turkish word, though now in common use by the Arabs here, and perhaps derived from the Persian بغاز, a wedge.

the vessel was caught aback, and suffered to fall round four times in the space of as many hours.

Our soundings through the day had varied from ten to fifteen fathoms, and our water was growing deeper and of a bluer colour as we advanced; nor had we, apparently, any longer to contend with the strong contrary current which we had found setting from the eastward along the whole coast of the Delta.

We continued to steer in a N. E. direction until near midnight, without any account of our course or distance being kept; when the westerly breeze again deserting us, we were left becalmed, with the weather dark and cloudy.

3d. We had made scarcely any progress during the night, and had now again to linger out another day amid light eastern airs of scarcely sufficient strength to fill the sails. On the preceding evening, the water of the sea had given forth, on the least agitation, that sparkling appearance which has been called phosphoric; and in drawing up some of it in a bucket this morning, it was observed to be full of small fish-spawn. The colour of the water in its mass was of a deep indigo blue, and no soundings could be obtained with about forty fathoms of line.

Under an idea that our voyage would have been short, as well as from the difficulty of sending back any thing from Syria to Egypt without great risk, I had left at Alexandria all my nautical instruments ; though at the present moment I regretted extremely that I had not with me a sextant, large compass, and lead-line, as they would have enabled me to make many observations through this tedious navigation, which would have been of probable utility, and at least have furnished me with agreeable occupation. Destitute as we were, either of chart or reckoning, we could give but a wide guess at the vessel's place; so that the different estimates of the crew themselves made us from eighty to two hundred and fifty miles off the Syrian coast. Amid these doubtful opinions as to our distance from land, the evils under which we laboured were but too certain; as not a broken oar or fragment of dunnage could be found for fire-wood, and our small stock of water was constantly diminishing, without even the hope of rain to recruit it; while a desert coast under our lee was the only one to which we could direct our course in case of still more pressing necessity.

4th. Easterly airs still prevailing, we made only a few miles of northing through the night, and were this morning again becalmed. Not-

withstanding the privations to which we were now reduced, the want of unanimity among the crew, and the discordant yell of rage, reproof, and despair, which was incessantly heard in every part of the ship, were still greater evils. The crew reproached the Reis with a failure of duty in not having laid in a sufficient stock of water for the voyage; the Reis retorted on the crew their want of prudence in the wasteful consumption of it. The passengers suggested that as both these parties had been in different ways the causes of the evil, according to their own mutual accusations, it was but fair that they should suffer its effect the most severely. Divided as they were before against each other, they now both united in insisting that the passengers not belonging to the vessel ought to have brought their own water with them, and that in truth they had not the most distant right to that which was laid in for the crew.

The Mohammedans exclaimed, "La Illah ul Ullah! Mohammed el Russool Ullah!" * The Christians answered, "Ya Mobareck! Ya Rub! Ya Kereem!" † and when, to unite all parties, I proposed that the remaining quantity of water should be now divided among all on

* There is no god but God, — Mohammed is the apostle of God.

† O blessed! O Lord and Master! O beneficent!

board, in equal portions, to be used by each according to his own discretion; or that, every morning, a daily measure should be given to each by the captain himself; every one objected to such a proposition, and seemed to think that he should somehow or other be cheated in such a division.

In the meantime all spirit of exertion was extinguished among the crew. They would not man the boat to tow, since that would create an additional thirst; and they suffered the vessel when caught aback to fall off slowly herself, and come round on the same tack without starting a sheet or a brace, since they would all require to be hauled taut again. The Reis had entirely lost his influence among the crew, and every one did as seemed best to him. The apparent ambition of all was to adopt a tone of authority, and to be the last and loudest in dispute; so that, although partial airs arose from different quarters of the compass, by which we might have profited to advance a few miles at least, the helm was neglected, the yards lay untrimmed, and we drifted about in every direction like a bark abandoned to despair.

5th. The moon had set in a dark bed of rising clouds, and the whole appearance of the night portended a western gale. Not more than twenty quarts of water, and this extremely

foul, now remained for the subsistence of about twenty persons on board; so that the anxiety with which every eye was directed to the quarter from whence the wind was desired may be conceived.

The dawn opened, however, and not a breath of air was yet stirring. Prayers and incense were again resorted to; and the tone of all those engaged in offering them had sunk from confidence to melancholy despair. The men were evidently terrified at the prospect of approaching death; and their whole conduct, in this respect, formed a striking contrast to the calm resignation of the Mohammedans on board, who continued to preserve all their former tranquillity, and console themselves with the assurance of their prophet, "God is great and merciful, and what he has decreed must come to pass."

When prayers were ended, a straw-mat on which the captain slept was let down into the sea, and with the shreds of another mat torn up for the purpose a fire was kindled thereon, and the whole was pushed from the vessel's side, as a burnt-offering to the gods of the winds. I had at first conceived that the object of this was chiefly to mark the direction which the smoke would take, when free from the influence of those eddies always occasioned by the flapping

of the ship's sails in a calm; but it afterwards appeared that it was in every sense a sacrifice, from the peculiar marks of which our future fate was to be augured. If the flame burnt clear and bright, so as to be distinguished plainly through the thick smoke of the damp straw, if it continued unextinguished until the fuel became a heap of ashes, and if it returned not again to the vessel, but drifted in some other course, all these were to be so many proofs that the fire thus kindled should triumph over the element on which it floated, and that the god to whom it ascended had heard our prayers, and would not suffer that element to witness our destruction. Every omen was favourable, the mat floated from us from the mere impulse with which it was pushed from the ship, and the heat of the flame was sufficient, amid the stillness of the calm, to attract around it a sensible motion of the colder air so as to feed the fire till most of the fuel was consumed.

The joy of every one was not only extreme, but almost as boisterous as their rage and disappointment on the preceding day; and to crown the whole, in less than an hour afterwards, the glassy surface of the waters began to be ruffled by light airs from the south and from the west.

At noon it had strengthened into a fresh

breeze, the bow-lines were checked, and the weather-braces rounded in, every sail was carefully trimmed, and we foamed along our whitened path amid the curling waves of the deep blue sea, while the bounding motion of our vessel was like the exulting joy that agitated every gladdened heart within her.

Had it even been possible, it would have been perhaps a pity to damp the ardour of such general happiness by the cold philosophy of physics, or the dry doctrines of causes and effects; but had Newton himself appeared before this assembly, his demonstrations would have availed nothing to disturb the firm persuasion which reigned in the minds of all on board that their faith in the morning sacrifice had alone procured for them the opening of the clouds of heaven, and the gift of this favourable wind from the hand of their Almighty Ruler.

We continued to sail at about the rate of six knots, with a flowing sheet, until sunset; in the course of which time the land had been thrice reported to be in sight from the mast-head. At about two, P.M., all hands were so confident of having seen it, that preparations were already begun for anchoring in whatever port they should make, as all believed that they were too far to the northward, while they contended among themselves whether the land thus seen

were about Tarabolous or Latikea, though Cyprus had not yet appeared in our way.

Before three o'clock the imaginary hills and capes, which had excited this difference of opinion as to their names, had entirely disappeared. Soon afterwards the Reis himself exultingly recognized the entrance to the port of Beiroot, and was overjoyed thus to throw back on the crew their reproaches on his inaccurate reckoning, if mere guess could deserve that name. All vanished off again, however, until the haze of the eastern horizon raised up another phantom to which the twilight gave a longer duration.

In the mean time our south-west wind suddenly declined and left us rolling in a long and heavy swell, which still outlived its force. The western sky grew dark, the moon hid her light in the thickest clouds, and not a star was visible; while the vivid lightning which circled the whole compass, gave a terrific aspect to the scene when its blue glare for an instant illumined the heaving waters around us. This was first followed by torrents of rain, and afterwards by strong gusts of wind from the northward and north-west, which rendered it necessary to take in every sail.

After a few hours of successive squalls and intervals of dead calm, these varying gusts settled into a strong north-west gale, accompanied

by a cross swell from the opposite direction of the seas still running, which rendered our situation dangerous in the extreme. Having no central staysails, the square course was loosed to steady the vessel and hold her under steerage-way, but as the land could not be far off, however doubtful the fact of its having been seen at sunset, it would have been the height of rashness still to stand on for it in such a night; yet this was the measure insisted on by the Reis, whose terror of keeping the sea was beyond all description. Besides the ultimate and alarming evil which this threatened, it involved the more immediate one of laying the ship so completely in the hollow of the beaming swell, that we should be in momentary danger of foundering. The deeply laden state of this low vessel was such as to deprive her of all buoyancy; she floated, it is true, but like a dead log upon the water, never rising to the waves with the springing lightness which characterises the difference of motion between a large and a small ship, and contributes so essentially to the safety of the latter, but lying buried in the trough of the sea, while the water made a complete breach over her, and threatened to sink us by the mere weight of it upon the deck.

The alarm and confusion of the crew cannot be pictured: while one cried, "Luff, luff to the

wind, or we are all lost!" a second implored, "For Heaven's sake bear up, and fly before the gale!" a third vociferated, "Give the vessel no more way, or we are inevitably wrecked on a lee-shore!" and all lifted their hands in the agony of despair, crying, "If we continue thus, nothing can save us from going to the bottom."

My own feelings amid this scene would be still more difficult to describe than that of the crew, as theirs were simply indecision and excessive terror, while mine, not by any means free from both of these, were mixed with others of a very different kind. I would have bartered all my hopes for the possession only of two able seamen who could follow my directions while I stood myself at the helm; but alone and unassisted by a single individual, surrounded by men completely ignorant of the first principles of their profession, and animated by no sense of firmness or of duty, while they understood not a syllable of my language, and I but very imperfectly the sea-terms of theirs, I despaired of being able to apply even the remedies which apparently remained to rescue us from this horrible situation.

It was not a moment, however, for reflection, for argument, or for mild endeavours to conciliate or persuade. Whatever was to be done, was to be done quickly; as delay would be as fatal

as error. Taking the helm, therefore, into my own hands, I luffed the vessel sharp to the wind, letting go the weather-brace at the same time, so that with the force of the wind on the weather-leech the sail flew forward of itself, and it only remained to gather in the slack of the lee-brace and bow-line to have the ship completely hove-to. All this I was able to effect alone, and the crew remained so abandoned to despair as to offer no resistance, but merely to regard me with a stupid gaze.

The benefit of the change was almost instantly felt; the ship, from heading the sea, no longer lay buried in its hollow, and except such waves as broke their curling foam when meeting her falling prow, the waters no longer swept across the decks; her plunging motion was, however, still heavy, and kept me in constant apprehension of her starting some butt or plank, and thus springing a leak, for which there would have been no remedy, as there was no pump in the ship, and her cargo was laden in bulk. With some difficulty I at length prevailed on two of the smartest of the seamen and an active and enterprising little Turkish boy on board to loose the foot of the lateen foresail and the mizen, and to furl so dangerous a sail as the large square-course, every moment liable to be taken aback and to send us down stern foremost. Under

these sails, with the three central polacca-yards braced sharp to the wind, we lay-to, coming up and falling off nearly four points from the sails, being at the very extreme ends of the vessel's frame.

Lashing the helm two-thirds a-lee, in preference to trusting it into the hands of any other person, our next object was to lighten the ship as much as possible, in order to ease the violence of her pitching. From the liability to receive a sea on board, and the want of pumps to free the vessel from it again, we could not venture to open the hatches for the purpose of access to the cargo, — even the open space in the main hatchway being now closed, and the hatches battened down, while the sick and affrighted passengers, Turks, Moors, and Christians, had all crawled for refuge into my cabin, where they lay one on another almost suffocated for want of air.

We proceeded, therefore, to throw overboard every thing on the deck, among which were a large iron anchor, so heavy that nothing but the energies of the occasion could have enabled us to start it by hand from its place, two old and rusty six pounders with their carriages, a large and heavy wooden cabouse or cooking-house, the bottom of which was of brick masonry, three or

four boxes or cafasses*, containing the cooking utensils and provisions of ourselves and the other passengers on board, two spare spars, all the furniture of the boat excepting her rudder and two oars, including her grapnell, davit, &c. &c., empty water-casks, coils of spare rope, an unshipped capstern, and, in short, every thing that added to the weight on the vessel's decks.

We should have cut away the foremast with its heavy lateen-yard, had there been an axe on board, as it was stepped almost on the vessel's stem, and oppressed her forward considerably; but to have started the rigging of the mast without being able to cut away the spar itself, would, by increasing its motion, have augmented the evil. We lowered this yard on deck, however, and getting it fore and aft, kept sufficient of the sail loose to balance the mizen in keeping her to.

There were now two anchors at the bow and a third lying athwart the forecastle, all with their respective cables coiled under the piece of deck below. From the want of an axe or even good knives, we had still more difficulty in detaching these, by being obliged to cast off their lashings,

* The name given to large cases made of a close cage-work from the branches of the date-tree in Egypt, and derived from the Arabic word وقفص a cage of net-work; or the Persian word, وقفس a cage, a lattice, a grate.

while buried in the water and involved in pitchy darkness. In about an hour we succeeded in easing away the lee anchor with all its cable attached, and started the spare one overboard on the same side, with all its cable also, reserving only the weather-anchor as a last hope. Eased of all this burthen the vessel began to float more buoyantly upon the water, and rise to meet the waves in which she had before lain buried.

Our labours did not cease here. We repaired to the after-cabin, and still assisted only by the two seamen and the admirable little Turkish boy, proceeded to ease it of the weight which pressed on the after-part of the ship. Under other circumstances, it would have seemed an act of cruelty, but here it was one of necessity, to drag out by main force the poor, sick, and helpless wretches who had taken shelter in the cabin, as despair had deprived them both of motion and of speech. While they lay on the deck, my poor old servant among the number, we were obliged to pass some ends of the running rigging round them, to prevent their rolling overboard; and, as it was, they were in great risk of being drowned in the water of the scuppers on each side.

When they were secured, we took from the cabin about fifty baskets of rice, twenty or thirty smaller ones of dates, some other more

weighty packages of merchandize, and chests, bundles, and boxes belonging to myself, my servant, and others of the passengers and crew; leaving nothing there but my small portmanteau and our cloaks and arms. These last we removed into the boat amidships, whither we obliged also every individual on board to repair, and committed every thing else to the deep.

The boat's lashings, painter, &c., were next prepared for getting her speedily out, in the event of the vessel's foundering. The enterprising little Achmet, a boy only ten years old, whose energetic spirit and determined perseverance surpassed all I had ever witnessed in a lad of his age, was stationed on the forecastle to look out. The two seamen, still unassisted by their shipmates, baled the water from the waist; and I myself repaired again to the helm.

6th. The occupation of the preceding night had divested it of part of its terrors; while, now that we remained in awful suspense, looking silently around us upon the breaking waves, and deafened by their continual roar, every hour seemed of more than double its accustomed length.

The benefit of our measures were, however, so evident, as to afford us the tranquillizing consolation of having done our duty. The vessel met the sea with a seeming effort to rise above

its destructive foam; the decks were clear of all that before encumbered them; no lives were yet lost, and, as far as we could perceive around us, when the lightning's glare extended the range of vision, we were still far from the worst of all a seaman's horrors, a lee shore. Hope, therefore, now in every sense our sheet-anchor in the storm, still cheered us with the prospect of our weathering the gale till morning, when we might bear up for the land in safety.

The morning came, and no language can describe the feeling with which the first glimmer of its dawn was hailed; nor were the rays which dissipated the gloom of night, welcome as they were to every eye, equal to that sunshine of joy which now illumined every heart, bursting through the darkness of absolute despair, and raising, in short, the very dead to life again.

The storm had abated only a little of its violence, yet the sea had become more regular in the direction of its swell, and the crew now quitting the boat in which they had lain, assisted us in making sail, and waring the vessel round before the wind.

At sunrise land was seen, and on a nearer approach it was discovered to be the high and even range of Ras-el-Nakhora, to the northward of the bay of Acre. At eight the town of Acre was distinctly visible, appearing like a city on

a hill. A watch-tower was seen on the cape itself, some villages on the highest part of the land to the northward of it, white cliffs in the same direction near the sea, and soon afterwards the town and port of Soor, ranging along the edge of the coast.

To this haven we directed our course, and, as the captain assured us that he had been often there, we stood on for its entrance with confidence. The wind still blew with great violence, and the range of high breakers, which beat against the town and extended for a long way to the northward of it, seemed to present a formidable barrier to our entrance. We crowded every sail, which the bending mast would bear, to carry our vessel as rapidly as possible through this foam; and having the captain and one of the best men on the forecastle to direct the cunn, I stood at the helm, accompanied by the other seaman who had exerted himself with me during the night.

The nearer we approached the harbour, the more threatening the danger of its entrance seemed; and we could already perceive crowds of the inhabitants collected on the terraces of their houses near the sea, as if watching with anxiety the issue of our doubtful fate. At length a large six-oared boat hove in sight, pulling out from the town under the lee of the breakers,

and stationing herself as nearly opposite to the mid-channel between them as possible. She dared not venture out to us, so that we directed our stem towards her as a sailing mark. From the waving of the pilot, who stood up in her stern, we occasionally edged to star-board or to port, and fortunately guided the vessel through the centre of a dangerous and narrow strait called the Boghaz, or bar of the harbour.

On our right, the sea beat against the rocky base of the town, as if it would shake its firmest foundations: on the left, over a range of reefs which appeared like the ruins of former buildings, roared a line of breakers that would have swept away the strongest works of man; and on both sides of us the billows flung their whitened foam into the skies, as if the elements themselves were contending in warring rage against each other; while our bark, flying with every press of sail through the mountainous waves of the centre, was thrice swept by seas breaking over her stern, which, though they accelerated her motion, made her stagger beneath their pressure, as if she never would again obey the power of her trembling helm.

The bars of Lisbon and Oporto, both of which I had seen during a gale, appeared to me, as far as I could recollect, much less terrible than this straitened pass into the harbour of Soor,

though I was then at an age when terror would be magnified, as well by ignorance as by the natural timidity of inexperienced youth.

Before noon we were safely within the haven, and letting go our only anchor, amid a torrent of hail and rain, we veered out a long scope of cable, and rode in triumph over every danger that had threatened our destruction.

When I saw the vessel thus well secured, my first determination was to quit her here, to which I was induced by other reasons than the mere risk of the navigation yet remaining to be performed. The crew had been all too much terrified by the past to venture again from port but under the most favourable auspices. The bar of the harbour could not be passed over outward until the present gale should cease; and the north-east winds, which alone would make fine weather and smooth water on the coast, would be unfavourable for the prosecution of the rest of the voyage. An anchor and cable were to be procured; provisions, water, and wood laid in; spare rope and tackling had to replace those thrown overboard in the storm; and a variety of other deficiencies to be made up, in a port which was one of the most inconsiderable along the coast for its maritime trade, where not a vessel besides our own was at this moment to be seen, and where, consequently, all these du-

ties would be performed under a certainty of great delay. A still further detention would be sure to occur at Bairoot, for the landing of cargo, and some few days were to be reckoned as lost in dependance on wind and weather. It appeared probable, therefore, on the whole, that we should be a month at least, and perhaps even two, before the vessel would reach Latikea, by which time I might hope to get there by land, under every disadvantage of journeying through the country.

Our small stock of baggage was no more than we could each conveniently take in our own hands; and, stepping into the boat which had come off from the shore, we quitted the Shaktoor with the regrets, the thanks, and the vows of all on board for our safety, since they hesitated not to attribute their own preservation entirely to the exertions made by us during the gale.

In approaching the shore, our boat had to pass over a second bar, in order to reach the landing-place, which was at the foot of a basin, apparently formed by the breaking in of the sea over ruined buildings without, the fragments of which rendered the passage narrow and difficult.

When we landed on the beach, we were received by a numerous crowd, who pressed around us, professedly to congratulate us on our

safety in a place of refuge from the storm, but as well, no doubt, to gratify their curiosity, excited by the appearance of strangers in European dresses. A hundred questions were asked us at once, which we had neither time nor capacity to answer; but finding among the merchants there collected some who were more forward in the offer of their services than others, we delivered to them our small packages and arms, and followed them to a house in the centre of the town.

We were furnished with an excellent room and clean mats, but the repose we so much needed and desired we were not yet suffered to enjoy. The few soldiers who were here desired to know from whence we came, whither we were bound, and under whose firman* we travelled. The merchants followed, to enquire what articles we had brought for sale, and to obtain the latest prices of goods and rates of money in Egypt.

The Christian priests succeeded, to hail us as "Masafar-ela-Kods-el-Shereefe," or Pilgrims to the Holy and the Noble, meaning Jerusalem; and our appearance was sufficiently pilgrim-like to have deceived them, since no razor had been over our faces for fifteen days, nor any change of

*فرمان, a Persian word, signifying a mandate or order, and used as such for the passport of Turkish governors, to travel through their dominions.

raiment afforded during the whole of our voyage. Next came such of the poor and diseased as could crawl to our habitation, to demand of us medicine and relief, as it had already been noised abroad that we were neither merchants nor pilgrims; and it was therefore concluded that we must be hakeemi, or physicians. And, lastly, the servants of the house in which we were lodged completed the throng, by soliciting us to favor them with our commands.

My old servant, who, though a native of Tokat, was dressed in European garments, was not suffered to perform any of those offices appertaining to his duty: all were forward and ready to do us service; and nothing remained but to sit over our pipes and swallow rakee * and coffee until we were almost intoxicated with the combined effects of smoking, drinking, and talking, in a thronged assembly of enquirers.

At sunset, when both the idle and the curious began to be as weary as ourselves, a meal of rice and stewed meat was served to us, of which about half-a-dozen of our visitors remained to partake. Cups of strong drink again followed

* A name applied throughout Egypt, Syria, and Arabia, to a strong spirit distilled from dates; from the Arabic word عرق literally, sweat, juice; and metaphorically used of wine and spirituous liquors.

in rapid succession, and refusal was either considered as an insult, or thought to express a suspicion against the hand that offered it; so that at ten o'clock, when the party dispersed, we sunk upon the mat without undressing, as much oppressed by this excessive hospitality, as wearied by the fatigues that preceded it.

CHAP. II.

STAY AT SOOR, THE ANCIENT TYRUS.

January 7th, 1816. After the sweetest sleep I had for a long time enjoyed, we arose at daylight, and being joined by a party who had undertaken to superintend the necessary arrangements for our accommodation, we repaired to the bath. Mean and ill provided as this was, its refreshing effects were sufficiently agreeable to detain us there for several hours, when clean inner garments, and a temperate repast enjoyed in tranquillity, completed this powerful and welcome restorative.

On quitting the bath we mounted mules prepared for us, and rode through every part of the town, as well as to a sufficient distance without it, to obtain a commanding view of the whole. In this excursion we were assisted by the communications of several respectable inhabitants who accompanied us, and from whose confronted reports added to our own personal observations, the following particulars were collected.

The town of Soor is situated at the extremity of a sandy peninsula, extending out to the north-west for about a mile from the line of the main coast. The breadth of the isthmus is about one third of its length; and at its outer point, the land on which the town itself stands becomes wider, stretching itself nearly in right angles to the narrow neck which joins it to the main, and extending to the north-east and south-west for about a third of a mile in each direction. The whole space which the town occupies may be, therefore, about a mile in length, and half a mile in breadth, measuring from the sea to its inland gate.

It has all the appearance of having been once an island, and at some distant period was, perhaps, of greater extent in length than at present, as from its north-east end extends a range of fragments of former buildings, beaten down and now broken over by the waves of the sea. Its south-western extreme is of natural rock, as well as all its edge facing outward to the sea; and the soil of its central parts, where it is visible by being free of buildings, is of a sandy nature.

While this small island preserved its original character, in being detached from the continent by a strait of nearly half a mile in breadth, no situation could be more favourable for maritime

consequence; and with so excellent a port as this strait must have afforded to the small trading vessels of ancient days, a city built on it might, in time, have attained the high degree of splendour and opulence attributed to Tyrus, of which it is thought to be the site.

The question whether the Tyre of the oldest times stood on the continuent or on the island, is involved in some obscurity by the ambiguous nature of testimonies drawn even from the same source.

The original city is considered as posterior to Sidon, of which it is sometimes called the daughter; but it is still of very high antiquity, as may be seen by the authorities which Cellarius has so industriously collected from the prophets, the historians, and the poets, by whom it is so often mentioned.*

In the sacred writings it is often spoken of as an island. The prophet Isaiah says in addressing Tyre, "Be still, ye inhabitants of the isle; thou whom the merchants of Zidon that pass over the sea have replenished. Pass over to Tarshish; howl, ye inhabitants of the isle. Is this your joyous city, whose antiquity is of ancient

* Geographiæ Antiquæ, lib. iii. c. 12. 4to. 1706. See also Reland, c. 3. de urbibus et vicis Palæstinæ, p. 1046.; and Bochart Phaleg et Canaan, Pars post. lib. ii. c. 17. p. 860.

days?"* And in the exulting language attributed to it by Ezekiel, the expression is, "I sit in the *midst*," or as it is in the original, "in the heart of the seas." †

In the copy of Hiram's reply to Solomon, regarding the preparation of materials for the building of the Temple at Jerusalem, as preserved by Josephus, the insular situation of Tyre is unequivocally expressed, when he says, "But do thou take care to procure us corn in return for this timber, which we stand in need of, because we live in an island." ‡

On the other hand, there are circumstantial details seemingly more applicable to a continental than to an insular situation. In the divisions of the conquered lands of Canaan among the victorious tribes of Israel, the strong city of Tyre is made one of the boundaries of possession on the coast, in the fifth lot of the lands assigned to the tribe of Asher and their families; seeming thus to be enumerated among the places lying on the coast itself. § In the

* Isaiah, c. xxiii. v. 2. 6, 7. † Ezekiel, c. xxviii. v. 2.

‡ Josephus, Antiq. Jud. l. 8. c. 2. 7. Mr. Volney accuses Josephus of being mistaken in this particular of its being an island in the time of Hiram, and accuses him of confounding its ancient with its modern state. Volney's Travels in Egypt and Syria. 8vo. vol. ii. p. 219.

§ Joshua, c. xix. v. 29.

threatenening message sent against the city by the mouth of the prophet Ezekiel, the details of the warfare proclaimed seem applicable only to a continental city. *

The commentators differ, however, in their application of these local features to Palætyrus and Tyrus, which succeeded each other; though it is evident that they could be intended by the writers of them to apply but to one place only.

The learned translator of Josephus hesitated in his decision, more particularly as he found that the accurate Reland, who had laboured with so much diligence towards illustrating the geography of Palestine and Phœnicia, was not able to clear up this difficulty. He inclines to think that Palætyrus, or Old Tyre, the city spoken of by Joshua, was seated on the continent, and that its inhabitants were driven from thence to the island opposite to them by the Israelites; that this island was then joined to the continent by an artificial isthmus, and watered by pipes from fountains on the main land. After a series of events, the same writer conceives it to have been utterly destroyed by Nebuchadnezzar, in conformity to the prophecy; but a smaller island near it being inhabited, in the days of Alexander, that conqueror connected this second

* Ezekiel, c. xxvi. v. 7—10.

insular city to the continent, by a new bank or causeway, as we now see it. *

A desire to reconcile discordant passages seems to have suggested this accommodation, which is unsupported either by sacred or profane history, and still less so by the testimony of Maundrell, whose account of the modern Soor is cited by Whiston to support his theory of these manifold changes.

The army of Nebuchadnezzar lay before Tyre thirteen years, and it was not taken till the fifteenth year after the captivity, in the year 573 before Christ; and when taken, it was so exhausted by the siege, or so deserted by the inhabitants, that the conqueror found nothing to reward him for his labours. †

Dr. Prideaux supposes this city to have been the old Tyre on the continent, and that the inhabitants took refuge on the island, when the new Tyre flourished again with almost the same vigour as its parent, till it was destroyed by Alexander in the year 332 before Christ, and 241 years after the reduction of it by the Babylonians. ‡

Herodotus, who wrote about 400 years before the Christian era, or between the invasions of

* Whiston's Josephus, Antiq. Jud. l. 8. c. 2. s. 8.
† Prideaux's Connect. of the Old and New Test. vol. i. p. 72.
‡ Vincent's Periplus of the Eryth. Sea, vol. ii. p. 525.

Nebuchadnezzar and Alexander, mentions his visit to Tyre; but instead of his calling it "an island," as one might suppose he would have done, it is rather to be inferred from his mention of the temple of Hercules as in the town, that it was then on the continent, where the temple of Hercules, in which Alexander sacrificed, is always placed. The Tyrians appear to have followed, at that period, the worship of the Egyptians, with which nation they were closely allied in commerce at a still earlier period.* When speaking of Hercules, as one of the most ancient deities of Egypt, the Greek historian says, "From my great desire to obtain information on this subject, I made a voyage to Tyre, in Phœnicia, where is a temple of Hercules, held in great veneration. This temple, as the priests affirmed, had been standing ever since the first building of the city, a period of two thousand three hundred years. I saw also at Tyre another temple consecrated to the Thasian Hercules." †

* Fine linen with broidered work from Egypt was that which thou spreadest forth to be thy sail; blue and purple from the isles of Elisha was that which covered thee. Ezekiel, c. xxvii. v. 7.

† Herodotus. Euterpe 22.

In the temple of Hercules at Tyre were two pillars, one dedicated to fire, and the other to the clouds and the winds. The statue of this god is said to have been always accompanied by

Diodorus Siculus distinguishes between the continental and the insular Tyre in the most explicit terms. The latter was the Tyre besieged by Alexander, "who," he observes, "finding some difficulty in attacking it on that account, as the Tyrians had a very powerful

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these pillars, to which they sometimes gave the name of limits or boundaries. (Herodotus, lib. i.) M. Baer, Essay upon the Atlantis, p. 47. To name one of these pillars was to mark or indicate a temple of Hercules; these pillars signified then likewise limits; they were limits or points of repose in the progress of this illustrious traveller. The temples of Hercules serve to denote his different stations. (Vol. i. p. 80.) M. Baer, in his search after the Atlantis, conceives these pillars of Hercules at the temple in Tyre to be those of which Plato speaks, when he says that this celebrated island was seated opposite to them in the Atlantic Sea, and not to be meant of the Straits of Gibraltar, as commonly supposed. M. Baer is therefore of opinion that Phœnicia and Judea form the Atlantis of Plato. He discovers certain resemblances between the names of the twelve sons of Jacob and the brothers of Atlas. Were we to suppose these relations of resemblance real, says M. Bailly, it would not be extraordinary. The Bible contains the most consistent and most faithfully preserved series of traditions. It is by far the purest source of history. But in spite of these resemblances, ingeniously stated and explained by M. Baer, we must not spend our time in Palestine; it is by no means there that we look for the termination of our inquiries. We ask for the island Atlantis. The country that lies between the Euphrates and the sea is not an island, and the words of Plato are far from being ambiguous on that point. — Ancient Hist. of Asia, and Remarks on the Atlantis of Plato by M. Bailly, 2 vols. 12mo. London, 1814. Vol. ii. p. 80 — 82.

fleet, he demolished Old Tyre, as it was then called, and with the stones brought from thence built a mole or causeway of two hundred feet in breadth, extending all the way from the continent to the island." The difficulties which impeded this work, and the determined perseverance with which it was carried on amidst obstacles of so formidable a kind, are admirably described by the historian; and the description of the various operations of the siege leave one in doubt whether the fearless valour of the Macedonians or the obstinate bravery of the Tyrians deserved most to be admired.*

Strabo speaks most decidedly of Tyrus as an island, and enumerates the principal features of its local positions, and its great celebrity at the period of his writing, which was full three centuries after its siege. †

* Diodorus Siculus, l. xvii. c. 4. A. C. 330.

† "Tyrus tota insula est, ac ferè eodem modo habitata, quo Aradus, ad continentem aggere eam adnectente, et cum Alexander eam obsideret. Portus duos habet, alterum clausum, alterum apertum, quem Egyptium vocant. Dicunt in ea domos altiores fieri, quàm Romæ, ideo etiam parum abfuit aliquando, quin tota urbs terræ motibus deleretur. Cladem accepit ab Alexandro expugnata. Has tamen calamitates omnes superavit, et se recollegit cùm navigationibus, qua re Phœnices semper aliis præstitere, tum purpururam captura Tyria enim purpura optima omnium perhibetur, ac piscatio ipsa proxima est; et cætera cuncta, quæ ad inficiendas vestes pertinent, in promptu sunt. At tametsi maxima hujus modi

Pliny seems to have thought that the oldest Tyre was on the continent, and the most celebrated Tyre on an island, as will appear by his description: "Beyond Eedippa, and the Cape Album *, follows the noble city Tyrus, in old time an island, lying about three quarters of a mile within the deep sea, but now, by the great travail and devices wrought by Alexander the Great, at the siege thereof, joined to the firm ground, renowned for that out of it have come three other cities of antient name; to wit, Leptis, Utica, and that great Carthage, which so long strove with the empire of Rome for the monarchy and dominion of the whole world; yea, and Gades, divided as it were, from the rest of the earth, were peopled from hence †; but now, at

tinctorum multitudo civitatem reddit paulò dissolutiorem, tamen ob hanc copiam collocupletatur. Non solùm à regibus, sed à Romànis etiam libertate donati sunt, cum quidem paulo sumtu impetrarent, ut eorum votum Romani ratum haberent atque confirmarent. Colitur apud eos Hercules majorem in modum. Quantum classe potuerint, argumento evidenti est multitudo et magnitudo coloniarum ab iis deductarum. Dictum est de Tyrüs." — Strabo, the Latin version; Amsterdam, 1707. 2 vols. folio. B. 16. p. 757.

* This Cape Album is the one still called Ras-el-Abiad, or the White Cape, by the Arabs.

† M. Bailly, in his "Ancient History of Asia," says, "It appears from very probable computation, that we must refer the building of Tyre, as well as that of Thebes, in Egypt, to 2700 years before our era," (vol. ii. p. 83.) which agrees with Herodotus.

this day, all the glory and reputation thereof standeth upon the dye of purple and crimson colours. * The compass of it is nineteen miles, so ye comprise Palætyrus within it. The very town itself taketh up twenty-two stadia. Near unto it are these towns, Luhydra, Sarepta, and Ornithon; also Sidon, where the fair and clear glasses be made, and which is the mother of the great Thebes in Beotia." †

Quintus Curtius, too, besides the assertion that he makes, which accords with Diodorus, of Alexander using the ruins of Palætyrus to construct the mole across the sea from the continent to the island of Tyre, mentions this older city in another place. He says, "When the ambassadors of Alexander signified to the Tyrians the desire of their monarch to sacrifice to the Tyrian Hercules, which they worshipped as the god from whom the Macedonian kings were descended, and in obedience of an oracle which had enjoined him to this act of devotion, they replied to him that there was a temple of Hercules without their city, in a place which they

* This purple was extracted from the vein of the purple fish, when they were taken of a large size and whole, and this was the best: but the smaller ones were taken out of the shells and ground in mills to obtain this dye, and though there were other places where this purple was collected, that of Tyrus was by far the best. — Pliny, Nat. Hist. l. ix. c. 36.

† Pliny. Nat. Hist. l. v. c. 19.

called the Old Tyre, and that he might make his sacrifice there." *

Arrian, the most accurate among all the historians of Alexander, gives us even the depth of the sea in the strait which occasioned the insular situation of the city. He says, "The sea that separated the island of Tyre from the continent had a clayey bottom, and was shoal near the shore, but as it approached the city it was about three fathoms in depth."† Quintus Curtius indeed calls this sea a very deep one, "prælatum mare." ‡ It was the rubbish of old Tyre (thirty furlongs off), upon the continent, which supplied materials for the building of the mole constructed by Alexander, according to Curtius.‖ And this agrees with Didorus.§

* Quint. Curt. l. iv. c. 2.

After the visit which Alexander paid to the temple of Jupiter Ammon, to consult the oracle there, his founding Alexandria, and settling the affairs of Egypt, he began his march of return to Phœnicia, in the beginning of the spring, having laid bridges over the Nile and all its canals near Memphis, (probably for the passage of horses, chariots, and all the pomp of his train,) and coming again to Tyre, where he met his fleet, he sacrificed a second time to the Tyrian Hercules, and exhibited the usual games in his honour. — Arrian, l. iii. c. 6.

† De Exped. Alex. l. ii. c. 18.

‡ Quint. Curt.. l iv. c. 2. ‖ Ibid.

§ Yet the translator of Arrian himself evidently believed that the Tyre besieged by Nebuchadnezzar was the city on the island, and not that on the main land; for in animadverting on the hyperbolic style of Quintus Curtius, who says that the

In the contentions for empire which followed the death of Alexander, and not quite thirty years after this memorable siege, Tyre was again invested by the fleet of Antigonus, against whom Ptolemy, Seleucus, Cassander, and Lysimachus, were all leagued in war. He at the first left before this city three thousand men, under the command of Andronicus, to besiege it, but when he had himself taken Joppa and Gaza, he returned to the camp, there to preside over the operations of it himself. It being determined at length to blockade the place by sea, this was done by his fleet for thirteen months, during which time the inhabitants were so reduced as to render up the city and receive a garrison of the troops of Antigonus into it for its defence.*

deep sea between it and the continent could not be filled up but by a miracle, and over which a whole province could scarcely find wood enough for a bridge, or stones enough to fill it up, he remarks, that it had been done before without a miracle, (Ezekiel, c. xxix. v. 18.) and that the same trouble, admitting no greater opposition, would do it again. This same writer observes on the disproportionate loss of the Macedonians in the siege of this place. The statement plainly shows to which party we owe the records or memoirs from whence all these histories were compiled. Justin, contrary to all other authorities, affirms that Tyre was taken by treachery. (L. xi. c. 10.) Elian reports that it was won by stratagem. Polynæus, that it was carried by storm. Rooke's Arrian, b. ii. c. 24. vol. i. p. 114. 8vo.

* Diodorus Siculus, l. xix. c. 4.

About three years after this, and immediately following the battle fought at Gaza, between the combined armies of Ptolemy and Seleucus, against that of Demetrius, in which the latter was completely routed, Tyre was again invested by Ptolemy in person. Its garrison was then under the command of Andronicus, who rejected every offer made to him of wealth and power, and refused to betray the trust which Antigonus and Demetrius had reposed in him; but a mutiny arising among his own soldiers, the place soon fell into the hands of the enemy.*

It seems most probable, therefore, that the city which Nebuchadnezzar besieged was the Palætyrus situated on the continent, and the Tyrus which Alexander contended against, the city seated on the island. †

* Diodorus Siculus, l. xix. c. 6.

† M. Volney wonders at the necessity of the aqueduct to supply the old Tyre with water, if it stood as is supposed on the continent. (Vol. ii. p. 219.) It is true that in the invasion of Syria by Shalmanezer, at a much earlier period than the siege of Tyre by Alexander, guards are said to have been placed at the river and aqueducts of Tyre to hinder the Tyrians from drawing water. (Joseph. Ant. Jud. l. ix. c. 14. s. 2.) But these were certainly other aqueducts than the splendid one existing now, which must be at least of a later date than the union of the island to the continent by Alexander, since a portion of it goes over the isthmus itself; and it is probable, too, of Roman work, as the arch, which is here the prominent feature of the masonry, is thought to have been unknown either to the Hebrews or to the early Greeks.

The resistance offered by Tyre to the haughty Macedonian, whose arms had already completed the conquest of Syria, or at least decided its fate at the celebrated battle of Issus *, is a striking instance of what may be effected even by a commercial people whose military establishments were scarcely enumerated among the features of their high renown. " Let us contemplate these enterprizes," says a patriotic scholar of our own age, " as completed by the efforts of a single city, which, possibly, did not possess a territory of twenty miles in circumference, which sustained a siege of thirteen years against all the power of Babylon, and another of eight months against Alexander in the full career of his victories, and then judge whether a commercial spirit debases the nature of man, or whether any single city recorded in history is worthy to be compared with Tyre." †

" This proud mart of antiquity, whose resources of wealth and power are enumerated with so much eloquence by the prophet while proclaiming its destined fall, sent her fleets eastward to the gates of the Atlantic, which were the boundaries of all knowledge to every nation but

* This was fought in the month of Mamacterion, in the 4th year of the 111th Olympiad, when Nicocrates was archon, and 333 years before the Christian era.

† Vincent's Periplus of the Eryth. Sea, vol. ii. p. 528.

their own; while from this parent city, whose splendour and magnificence was unrivalled, and the wealth of whose merchants equalled that of the kings of other lands, colonies went forth to become themselves kingdoms from the same sources of power." *

The people of this "crowning city," as the prophet calls it, "whose merchants were princes, whose traffickers were the honourable of the earth †," were seemingly as alive to the love of liberty and independence as the possessors of the poorest rock in the ocean could have been; for one can scarcely conceive any other feeling to have prompted so daring a resistance as that which they offered to the career of Alexander's victories, when they closed the gates of their sea-girt fortress, and bade defiance to the conquering phalanxes which subsequently subdued the largest armies and over-ran the finest portions of the habitable globe. The love of liberty, it has been observed, will often animate the common bosom with superior energy; and, in a frenzy for their freedom, men of ordinary capacities are frequently expanded into heroes. The numbers of the besieged who fell in the resistance offered to the Macedonian are esti-

* Vincent's Periplus of the Eryth. Sea, vol. ii. p. 527.
† Isaiah, c. xxiii. v. 8.

mated at six thousand by one writer *, at seven thousand by another †, and at eight thousand by a third ‡, all sufficiently proving both the populousness of the city at that period, and the obstinacy of the resistance which it must have made against its assailants.

It was of the city thus conquered by Alexander, and consequently since its union to the main land, that the Greek and Roman geographers and historians record so much §; but it is of the older city, whether seated on the island or on the main, that the eloquent picture of the Hebrew prophets is drawn, and on which their terrible denunciations are thundered forth, when its annihilation is threatened for daring to exult at the overthrow of Jerusalem, and to exclaim "Aha!" over the fallen city of the living God. ‖

The port of Tyre is mentioned soon after the

* Quintus Curtius, l. iv. c. 4. † Diodorus Siculus, l. xvii.

‡ Arrian, Ex. Alex. l. ii. c. 24.

§ See Strabo, l. xvi., who says much of the loftiness and beauty of the buildings there. Josephus, in describing the city of Zebulon as of admirable beauty, says it had its houses built like those of Tyre, and Sidon, and Berytus. De Bello Jud. l. ii. c. 18. s. 9.

Bochart, from Pliny and Strabo, collects all the features of its magnificence, and enumerates them in his comparison by Tyre with the still more ancient city of Sidon. Phaleg et Canaan, pars prim. lib. iv. c. 35. p. 343.

‖ Ezekiel, c. xxvi. v. 2.

the date of Strabo's description in the history of St. Paul's voyages, as the harbour at which the ship he sailed in was to unlade her burden; and even at that early period of the faith, he found disciples there with whom he tarried seven days. * Its inhabitants soon after became zealous Christians, and it was made the first archbishopric under the patriarchate of Jerusalem. †

Its conquest, by Salah-el-deen, in the year of the Hejira 583, or A. D. 1168, and its evacuation by the Count of Tyre, who fled to Tripoly and perished there, is to be found in the Arabian historians of these times. ‡

It was not long after visited by the Jewish Rabbi, Benjamin of Tudela, who describes it as a large city, having an excellent port, which was guarded by a large chain going from one side of the entrance to another. This traveller, who had already seen some of the finest commercial cities of Europe, thought that Tyre was at that period without an equal in the world. It was then celebrated for a peculiar manufacture of fine glass, and for excellent sugar, as well as for

* Acts of the Apostles, c. xxi. v. 3.

† Pococke's Descr. of the East, v. ii. part 1. p. 85.

‡ See "Extraits Historiques, relatifs au Temps de Croisades," in "Les Mines de l'Orient," tom. iii. p. 70.

being the greatest mart of commerce in these parts. *

It was, however, soon rescued from the hands of the infidels, under whom it had almost regained its pristine splendour, according to this Jewish traveller's report, and was fought for as a portion of that sacred soil which was first bestowed upon the chosen Israelites, the people of God's peculiar care, and next honoured by its proximity to the scene of the sufferings of that same Deity's only begotten Son ; a soil which it was thought a holy task to moisten with the richest blood of our ancestors, when kings and khalifs warred in person for the triumph of the crescent or the cross.

The details of the expedition against Tyre under the royal zealots of Christendom are given by the historian of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, in his account of the crusades † ; and its subsequent history is to be found in the pages of the same writer, collected from sources which few would have the industry or the patience to examine.

William of Tyre, whose name is well known as

* Voyage de Benjamin de Tudele, in Bergeron's Collection. Paris, 4to. The old Tyre was then thought to be buried in the sea, and its ruins to be seen below the water from boats.

† Gibbon's Hist. vol. xi. c. 59. p. 140. 8vo.

an historian of these times, was an Englishman, who, from being prior of the Canons Regular in the Church of Jerusalem, called the Lord's Sepulchre, was made the first archbishop of Tyre in the year 1128, by Guimunde, the patriarch of Jerusalem. This city was even then called the metropolis of all Phœnicia, and accounted the chief province of Syria, both for its productions and the number of its inhabitants. This William, having in his lifetime written many books and epistles, died here in the year 1130, and was buried in the church of Tyre. Origen, one of the most learned fathers of the church, and the Emperor Frederick Barbarossa, one of its most zealous defenders, were also buried in the cathedral there * ; and Baldwine, who had been archbishop of Canterbury six years, dying here in the train of the English King Richard, in 1190, closed on this contested spot the perils of his holy voyage. †

Amid all its changes of fortune and religion, it seems to have retained its original name, with very trifling alterations, and has now recovered its oldest and purest form of Soor, which is said to signify a rock, and in that sense is highly

* Pococke, vol. ii. part i. p. 82.

† Hakluyt's Collection, vol. ii. p. 28. 4to.

characteristic of the island on which it was built. *

Maundrell's account of the place, about a century ago, is that of "a mere Babel of broken walls, pillars, vaults, &c., there being not so much as one entire house left †;" and Bruce, I think, in conformity to the prophecy, describes it as "a rock whereon fishers dry their nets ‡;" since which time it has evidently arisen from its ruins.

The annexed plan of Tyre and its environs, constructed for the "Critical Enquiry into the Historians of Alexander, by M. de St. Croix," is generally accurate. The authorities for its construction are not given by M. Barbie du Bocage, in the work to which it is attached; but it is highly illustrative of the local features of this celebrated spot. §

The whole of the outer edge of the island is skirted by rocks; and the Egyptian port, being formed by moles, is not now apparent.

The long ledge of rocks to the northward,

* Tyrus, צור, τύρος, Hebraicè dicitur Sor, et versitur tribulatio vel obsidio, sive angustia, aut vinculum, vel colligatio, seu plasmatia, aut figuratio, vel fortitudo, aut petra. Metropolis Phœnices, &c. Onomasticum Sacrum, p. 317.

† Maundrell's Journey, p. 64. 8vo.

‡ Ezek. c. xxvi. v. 14.

§ Plate IV.

which guards the passage of entrance to the harbour there, has appearances of ruins precisely in the spot where the tomb of Rhodope is marked.

The interior port is still to be traced, in a marked indentation in the north-east edge of the island, but is now only used as a shelter for the smallest boats.

In the angle on which was seated the royal palace, there are still to be seen a number of fallen granite pillars, and other vestiges of architectural grandeur; but of the temples of the Tyrian and the Thrasian Hercules, of Saturn, of Apollo, and of their other deities, I am not aware that sufficient remains can be traced to confirm the positions assumed for them.

The causeway of Alexander is still perfect, and is become like a natural isthmus by its being covered over with sand; but of the causeway of Nebuchadnezzar, which is said to have fragments remaining near the continent, I can say nothing.

The plan of Pala-Tyrus on the continent is made up from more slender materials than that of Tyre on the island. What is called the Road to the Temple is occupied by the aqueduct, which was no doubt carried all the way over the causeway to the island itself.

The hill, on which is placed the temple of the

Astrochitonian Hercules, is now occupied by a Mohammedan Faqueer's tomb, around which are no ruins that indicate a work of grandeur destroyed. It forms the angle of the aqueduct as there delineated; but if it were within the walls of Palætyrus, it could not then have been the mount from which Nebuchadnezzar besieged the old city, as supposed by others.

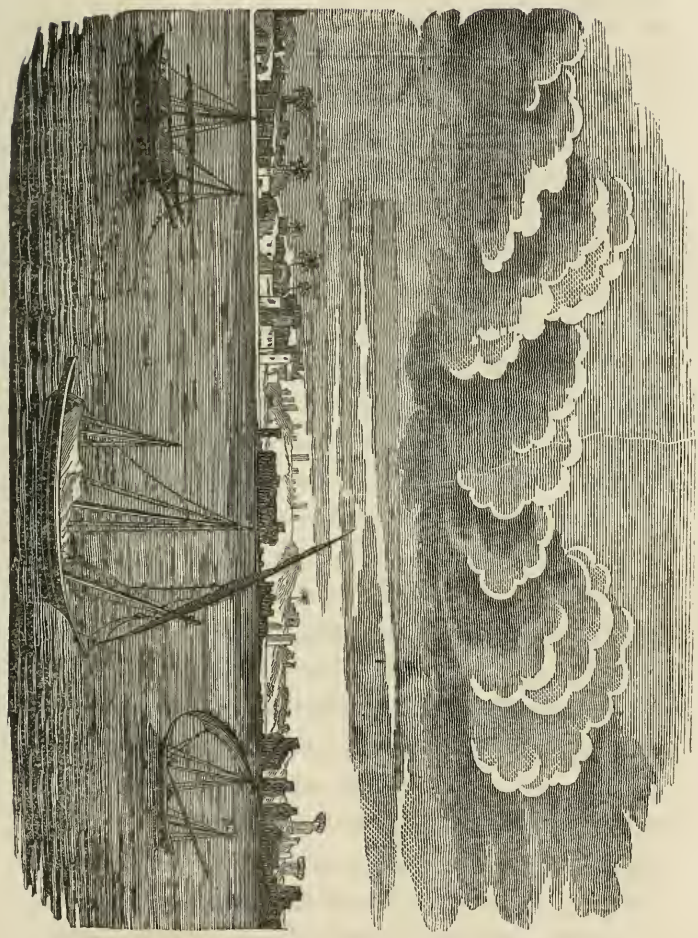
The direction of the aqueduct from hence to the fountain of Callirhoe, or the springs at Ras-el-Ain, is accurately given; but here, as in the other case, no great road to the temple is apparent on either side of it, nor did I see any vestige of walls to the eastward of the aqueduct as there traced out.

The ruins of Palætyrus, near to Ras-el-Ain, were not observed by me, although we crossed the brook there; and the Tyrian sepulchres, which are placed to the northward of the town, I did not hear of, nor did our excursions extend that way.

On approaching the modern Soor, whether from the sea, from the hills, from the north, or from the south, its appearance has nothing of magnificence. The island on which it stands is as low as the isthmus which connects it to the main land, and, like this, all its unoccupied parts present a sandy and barren soil. The monotony of its grey and flat-

roofed buildings is relieved only by the minareh of one mosque with two low domes near it, the ruins of an old Christian church, the square tower without, the town to the southward or south-east of it, and a few date-trees scattered here and there among the houses.

On entering the town, it is discovered to have been walled; the portion toward the isthmus still remaining, and being entered by a humble gate, while that on the north side is broken down, showing only detached fragments of circular towers greatly dilapidated. These walls, both from their confined extent and style of building, would seem to be of less antiquity than those which encompassed Tyrus in the days of its highest splendour, as they do not enclose a space of more than two miles in extent, and are of ordinary workmanship. They do not reach beyond the precincts of the present town, thus shutting out all the range to the northward of the harbour, which appears to be composed of the ruins of former buildings. The tower to the south-east is not more than fifty feet square, and about the same height. It is turretted on the top, and has small windows and loop-holes on each of its sides. A flight of steps leads up to it from without, and its whole appearance is much like that of the Saracenic buildings in the neighbourhood of Cairo.



TYRE AS VIEWED FROM THE SEA.

At the present time the town of Soor contains about eight hundred substantial stone-built dwellings, mostly having courts, wells, and various conveniencies attached to them, besides other smaller habitations for the poor. There are within the walls one mosque, three Christian churches, a bath, and three bazars. The inhabitants are at the lowest computation from five to eight thousand, three-fourths of which are Arab Catholics, and the remainder Arab Moslems and Turks.

In the fair season, that is from April to October, the port is frequented by vessels from the Greek islands, the coasts of Asia Minor, and Egypt; and the trade is considerable in all the productions of those parts, as Soor is considered one of the marts of supply from without for Damascus, for which its local situation is still, as formerly, extremely eligible.

The northern port, when entered, is sufficiently deep and capacious for the small trading vessels of those seas, and offers the most complete shelter from the winds of every quarter. Its chief disadvantage is the Boghaz or bar of entrance; but we were assured by those most conversant in such matters, that this is safe and easy of access, excepting only during the westerly gales of the winter, when the harbour is never resorted to but as a place of refuge in distress.

In the course of our ramble through the town, and our ride without its walls, the most striking features of the inhabitants whom we met in the way were an air of independence in some, of ferocity in others, and of cunning in all, compared with the servility, mildness, and simplicity of the Egyptians. The dress of the mercantile people, who are chiefly Christians, resembled that of the same class in Cairo; full drawers, caftans, benishes, and turbans. These last were invariably of blue muslin, sometimes fringed with silver, and having silver thread-worked knots at their ends: they were depressed behind, and thrown up in numerous folds in front, so as to give an air of boldness to the wearer.

The lower orders, both of Christians and Mohammedans, wore the large Mamlook trowsers, or sherwal, of blue cotton, or of cloth; and short benishes, or outer coats of woollen, striped in yellow, white, and red, with an inverted pyramid of coloured figures descending from the neck, between the shoulders, on the back. Their turbans were wound round the silken edge of a large red tarboosh or cap, which was sufficiently ample to fall behind the head, and have its blue silk tassel touching the benish itself. Many wore also the bisht of the Bedouins, a large woollen cloak with broad alternate stripes of black or brown and white. All were armed,

some with one pistol in the girdle, others with a pair, and others again with a dirk or a sword, but mostly with a long musket slung over the shoulders by a leathern strap.

The women were habited partly after the Egyptian and partly after the Turkish fashion; some wore black veils with openings for the eyes; others only covered the mouth and the lower part of the face, as in Smyrna; and others, again, wearing over their heads a square piece of white muslin which fell low down on the back, had their faces totally concealed by a veil of coloured but transparent muslin, like the women of Mokha and the southern parts of Arabia Felix.

In the court of the house where we lodged, I observed a female divested of these outer robes, and her garments then appeared to resemble those of the Jewish women in Turkey and Egypt: the face and bosom were exposed to view, and the waist was girt with a broad girdle fastened by massy silver clasps. This woman, who was a Christian, wore also on her head a hollow silver horn, rearing itself upwards obliquely from her forehead, being four or five inches in diameter at the root, and pointed at its extreme; and her ears, her neck, and her arms, were laden with rings, chains, and bracelets.

The first peculiarity reminded me very for-

cibly of the expression of the Psalmist; "Lift not up thine horn on high, speak not with a stiff neck." "All the horns of the wicked will I cut off, but the horns of the righteous shall be exalted;"* similar illustrations of which, Bruce had also found in Abyssinia, in the silver horns of warriors and distinguished men.† The last recalled to my memory with equal readiness, the species of wealth which the chosen Israelites were commanded to borrow from the Egyptians, at the time of their departure from among them; and of the spoils taken in their wars with the Canaanites whom they dispossessed, when it is stated that many shekels of silver and of gold were produced on melting down the bracelets, the ear-rings, and other ornaments of the women and children whom they had made captive. Most of the women that we saw wore also silver bells, or other appendages of precious metal, suspended by silken cords to the hair of the head, and large high wooden pattens, which gave them altogether a very singular appearance.

It was sunset when we returned to the house, after our long and wearisome excursion, and as supper was soon served up to us, the

* Psalm lxxv. v. 5. 10.

† In the song of Hannah on the presentation of her first-born Samuel, at the temple of Jerusalem, she exclaims, "Mine horn is exalted in the Lord!" 1 Sam. c. ii. v. 1.

room was crowded by visitors ready to partake of it. Our Reis and the Tunisean passenger were among the number, as well as two of the Catholic Arab priests, so that the provision was but barely sufficient for the multitude. During the meal rakee was plentifully drunk by all except the Mohammedan, who could not be prevailed upon, by the united persuasions of those about him, to disregard for a moment the prohibitions of his prophet, not even in an assembly of those who were of a different faith.

After supper, wine was brought, and, at every ample cup that was swallowed, low bows, and reverential salutations, (in which the mouth, the head, and the heart, were appealed to as witnesses of their sincerity,) were made to me; and both myself individually, and our nation generally, were exalted to the skies.

It was not difficult already to perceive that here, as well as in Egypt, one of the chief distinctions between the professors of Christianity and the followers of Mohammed was, that the one could get drunk with impunity, while the other was forbidden even to taste the intoxicating poison. Neither of these have sense enough to distinguish that it is excess alone which is reprehensible, though this not in an equal degree; for while the extreme of temperance in the Turk is a privation affecting only

his own comfort, and rather beneficial than injurious to others, the inebriation of the Christian is as pernicious to society as it is disgraceful to his profession.

We continued obscured in an atmosphere of smoke, and stunned with the vociferations of twenty tongues in motion at once, until near midnight, and even then not more than half the party had dispersed. We had talked during the day, when we were all sober, on the best mode of proceeding in my intended journey from hence to Aleppo; and now like the Scandinavians and our British progenitors, we entered on the second discussion of the subject in our cups.

My friend, Sheikh Ibrahim*, had recommended me, in his letter of instructions for the voyage, to procure the firman of the Pasha of Acre or Damascus, to secure my passage through their dominions; and the propriety of this precaution had been confirmed to me here by the advice of all whom I had consulted on the subject. Even now, when every heart was stout and brave, it was the unanimous opinion that, in the present state of the country, it would be an imprudent risk to travel without such a document. The circumstance of the

* The late accomplished and enterprising traveller Mr. Buckhardt.

moment which rendered this the more necessary was, that the Pasha of Damascus having died within the last few days, Suliman, the present Pasha of Acre, had pretended to have received orders from the Sultan of Stamboul to succeed to the possession of the vacant pashalic, and had, accordingly, sent the whole of his moveable force there to execute the mandate.

In consequence of this general movement, and probable division of the soldiery into opposite parties, it was thought to be impossible to pass any where without strict examination; besides being every hour liable to have our beasts pressed for the public service, if not protected by the Pasha's firman.

As this could not be obtained without my presenting myself to him in person, since there was no consul or other official character here to obtain it for me, it was necessary that I should go to Acre; and for that journey preparations were accordingly made.

The hour of our dispersion approached; and the next necessary step was to defray the expenses of our stay here. It was no sooner hinted than a long paper was produced, the contents of which sufficiently explained the motives of the supposed hospitality with which we were received, and the gathering together of the mul-

titude to feast and make merry at our safe arrival.

A bill that would have disgraced a Portsmouth tavern, for the entertainment of midshipmen fresh from a long and successful cruize, was then read over to us, the gross amount of which, for the benefit of those who had fed at our expense, was seventy-four piastres for two days. I could scarcely hide my indignation at such a gross imposition, and hardly knew whether I felt most at the insult offered to my understanding, or at the hypocritical fawning of those who were vile enough to think it would succeed.

I did not fail, however, to give them an appropriate lecture on such a reception of a stranger, thrown by stress of weather on their coasts; and to confirm to them my opinion of their meanness, I laid the half of the sum before them, telling them that, even for that, they would gladly see another Englishman among them; but that no pains should be wanting, on my part, to warn all I might meet against the dear-bought hospitality of Soor. After this, they were base enough to kiss my hand, and beg a thousand pardons.

CHAP. III.

JOURNEY FROM SOOR TO ACRE.

JANUARY 8, 1816. We were stirring with the dawn; and, as our two mules were already waiting for us below, we mounted them, each carrying his own small portion of baggage beneath him, in hair-bags slung across the cloth, for saddle or bridle there was none. We were accompanied by the muleteer, on a miserable donkey; and each of us being armed with musket, pistols, and sword, we quitted the gate of Soor as the sun rose.

Passing over some heaps of scattered rubbish, the wreck of former buildings, and leaving the isolated tower, before described, to the southward of us, we came in a few minutes to a square building of similar construction, at which women were drawing water from wells within.

From hence we crossed over to the northern edge of the isthmus, and pursuing our way on that side in an easterly direction, we began soon to trace the remains of the ancient aqueduct by

which Tyre was supplied with water from fountains to the south-east of it.

From the centre of the isthmus we commanded a view of the bay and harbour, on each side; and it suggested itself to me, on the spot, as highly probable that while Tyre was yet an island, the entrance through its strait was made from the southward; first, because the passage there is broader, deeper, and more clear of rocks; and next, because the southerly and south-west winds, the most favourable for entrance, prevail so generally here as to occasion a reversion of the natural order of terms in speaking of places on the coast, both seamen and landsmen calling the southward *up*, and the northward *down*, as in the islands of the West Indies, where these terms are regulated by the wind.

Since the formation of this isthmus, however, the southern port can have been but little frequented. It is now never visited; because, from these same prevailing winds, it affords but a partial shelter, while all along its beach beats a continual surf, which has contributed, no doubt, to the present elevation of the isthmus itself, by the fine loose sand that it constantly throws up.

The northern port is, on the other hand, rendered still more secure than it could have been originally, by the intervention of this barrier to break off the force of the southern and south-west

winds and seas; and, indeed, when once entered here, vessels may ride secure from the gales of every quarter.

This alone would be an advantage of the highest kind, if the entrance to the port were less confined and dangerous than it now is; and as there can be no doubt that it has constantly grown worse in the hands of such improvident masters as its present ones, so it may be presumed that, at the period when the isthmus was constructed, the access to the port was sufficiently free to justify the shutting up of the southern passage into it by the neck of land which still remains.

Pursuing our way along the traces of the aqueduct spoken of, we passed, besides the visible foundation nearer the city, a large detached fragment of it, consisting of three perfect arches, still erect; and, soon afterwards, a second detached mass, under the brow of a small hill, on which were conspicuous the whitened domes of a mosque or a saint's tomb. This elevation is thought by some to be the rock on which Palætyrus was built, and by others the mount which Nebuchadnezzar, in conformity to the prophecies, threw up against it in the siege, though it is a small natural hill, and no vestiges of any old city are to be traced near it.

As far as this, the aqueduct led from the city

in an easterly direction, for about half a mile, across the isthmus; when, being on the firm land of the continent, it turned off southerly in the direction of the coast.

We pursued its traces through a barren and stony ground, finding it in some places entirely dilapidated; in others, its foundations and supporters remaining; and, in others, its arches, mouldings, and channel for the water above, still perfect.

The workmanship throughout was uniform in its proportions, and well-finished in its details; and ruined as it now was, it presented a solidity of construction that evinced it to have been executed by very able hands. The materials were a calcareous stone, from the neighbouring hills, and a cement of admirable firmness, while the channel was lined throughout by a coating of plaster formed of lime and fine sand. Masses of stalactites, still preserving the tubular form in which the liquid element leaked over the sides and down the arches of this aqueduct, were visible in many parts; and these, with the grey mossy patches scattered here and there upon its surface, gave to the whole a very picturesque appearance.

When beyond its centre we passed two ancient cisterns, now full of excellent water, nearer the sea; and continuing to follow the remains of

this noble work, we arrived at its commencement at the fountains from which it led off, exactly at eight o'clock, or little more than an hour after leaving the gate of Soor.

We halted here at the small village of Ras-el-Ain, deriving its name from the fountains themselves*, and alighted to examine them. Going over every part of them with Maundrell's description in my hand, I was gratified at the confirmation which their perfect correspondence with his account of them gave me of his general accuracy, and felt a pleasure at having it thus in my power to do justice to the fidelity of his details, after the objections which I had felt toward his more hasty conclusions respecting the utter desolation of Tyre.

Nothing remains to be added to the description given of these fountains by the worthy divine, since it applies as accurately to their present state as to that of the day on which it was written; and his refutation of the tradition which assigns their construction to Solomon as a recompence to Hiram king of Tyre appears to me quite satisfactory. † If I were asked, there-

* راس العين — literally, the head of the fountain. This place is mentioned under its present name by Reland, cap. 3., de urbibus et vicis Palæstinæ, l. iii. p. 1049.

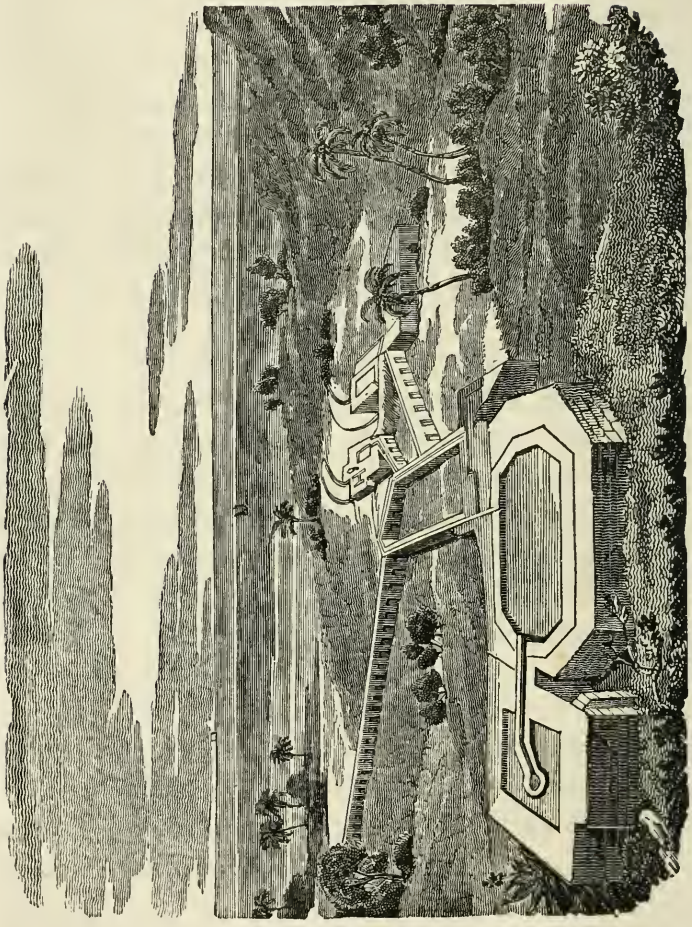
† See Maundrell's Journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem, 8vo. 1810, p. 67.

fore, for a description of these cisterns, I could not do better than transcribe that of this accurate traveller, adding merely a conjecture that both the fountain and the aqueduct were the work of the same lofty and magnificent genius who connected the island of Tyre, like that of Clazomenæ, in the gulf of Smyrna, to the continent, and whose works of grandeur, made subservient to public utility, soften in some degree the darker shades of his all-conquering character.

We quitted the village of Ras-el-Ain at nine o'clock, and keeping close by the sea-side, came in half an hour to the bed of a river now dry, but over which had once been thrown a stone bridge, the broken fragments of which still remained.

At half past ten, we passed through a considerable space covered with the ruins of former buildings, whose foundations only were apparent. It was close to the sea, and seemed to mark the site of some ancient settlement, from the appearance of the materials there; but whether these were what had been thought by some to be the remains of the Palætyrus of the continent or not, we could not determine.

On the summit of the hill to the eastward of us was the small village of Shimmah, with a minaret rising from its centre. Though the



FOUNTAINS OF RAS-EL-AIN.

hills themselves were in general steep and barren, the narrow plain between their base and the sea was, for the most part, cultivated.

At Ras-el-Ain, where water was always to be commanded in abundance, we had seen sugar-canes already from two to three feet above ground; but here, where they were solely dependant on rain, they were ploughing the ground for corn. Oxen were yoked in pairs for this purpose, and the plough was small and of simple construction, so that it appeared necessary for two to follow each other in the same furrow, as they invariably did so.* The husbandman, holding the plough with one hand by a handle like that of a walking-crutch, bore in the other a goad of seven or eight feet in length, armed with a sharp point of iron at one end, and at the other with a plate of the same metal shaped like a calking-chisel. One attendant only was necessary for each plough, as he who guided it with one hand spurred the oxen with the point of the goad, and cleared the earth from the ploughshare by its spaded heel with the other. The ground was every where extremely stony, and there were no inclosures or divisions to mark the boundaries of possessed or rented property.

* In Syria, they had anciently small ploughs for making shallow furrows and light work, which are contrasted by Pliny with the heavy ones of Italy. Nat. Hist. l. xviii. c. 18.

The dress of the peasantry resembled that of Turkey more than of Egypt; as, instead of the long blue shirt of the fellahs on the Nile, the men here wore coarse cloth-jackets, ample cotton trowsers, and coloured and tasselled turbans. The women whom we met were generally carrying burdens on their heads, and were clad with long trowsers drawn in at the ancle and tied over the chemise at the waist, with an outer robe open before and tucked up behind for the convenience of walking. They had their faces but partially covered by a handkerchief over the chin, their bosoms generally exposed, and their complexions fairer than the southern Arabs; and though invariably bare-footed, they were never destitute of silver ornaments of some kind or other on their persons.

A scene entirely new to me was that of two of these female peasants, both well advanced in years, halting to perform their devotions on the public road, as I had never yet, either in Turkey, Egypt, or Arabia, once seen a woman thus employed.

At eleven o'clock, continuing still along by the sea-side, we came to the foot of Ras-el-Abiad *, a promontory which derives its name

* راس الا بيض —literally, the White Cape, and the Cape Album of the ancients, on this coast.

from its lofty white cliffs, visible at a considerable distance, and forming one of the prominent features of the coast, as we had observed on making the Syrian shore.

Here we ascended by an excellent road cut up on the north side of this cape through a white chalky soil, with flints imbedded in it, the ascent being in some places so steep as to render steps necessary. It then goes along the summit of the precipice, being in general from twelve to fifteen feet in breadth, and walled in toward the sea, where necessary, so as to render it perfectly safe. * The roar of the sea below, the whitened foam of which dashes against the base of the cliffs with a violence almost felt above, and the height from whence one looks down, have something of grandeur in them, though the labour and utility of the work itself strikes one still more forcibly. Near the point of this promontory is a small square building, looking like a watch-tower from afar off, but probably once a house of toll.

Descending from hence to the southern foot of the hill, we entered on the remains of an ancient

* "Album Promontorium ubi inter prominentes ad æstuosum mare aretus et periculosus transitus est. Tyr. 7. Bel. Sac. 22. Bonavent. Mercat. Stell." Adrichosnius. Theatrum Terræ Sanctæ, p. 2. folio.

paved way, over which we continued to ride for half an hour, until it brought us about noon to a fountain called Ain-el-Scanderoni. *

This is a modern work, the charitable gift, perhaps, of some pious Mussulman; being well built with a cistern beneath an arch, whence issue two streams, and over which is an Arabic inscription of several lines. It has, besides, a square platform walled in for prayers, shelter, or refreshment, and a flight of steps ascending to it with a dome of a sepulchre now partly buried by the falling-in of adjacent ruins. This fountain derives its name from the remains of a square fort here, now a shapeless heap of rubbish, with only a few masses of masonry remaining to identify its site; and this fort, with the road over the brow of Ras-el-Abiad, and the paved way leading from thence, are all attributed to Alexander.

This place may, probably, be the Alexandroschæne of the Jerusalem Itinerary, which was situated twelve miles from Tyre, and to which this nearly agrees in distance; as well as the Scandalium of the writers on the holy wars, who admit of its being founded by Alexander, but afterwards repaired by Baldwin king of Jerusalem when he was about to undertake the siege of Tyre. I should think both of these likely to be

* The fountain of Alexander.

the same place, as Pococke has supposed, but should fix them rather on the south than on the north side of the cape, and at this place of Ain-el-Scanderoni, which would then reconcile the distance, otherwise too short, as he himself observes. *

After drinking at this fountain, and watering our mules, we quitted it at twelve, and continued still along the remains of the paved way by the sea-side, observing masses of cement and gravel scattered about, and upright stones of about two feet high, with arched heads placed at short and stated distances along the edge of the road.

At a quarter before one, we turned off to the left to scale a steep hill, on which stood erect a column that had attracted our attention. On reaching its summit we found a number of shafts and some Ionic capitals fallen to the ground, with vestiges of an extensive building once occupying this commanding position. From its ascending by stages of masonry, marking square enclosures, it seemed to have been a fortified station, but the pillars must have belonged to some interior buildings of convenience or elegance thus encompassed. On the sides of the hill, and behind it to the eastward, were also scattered vestiges of strong masonry, occupying

* See Pococke's Description of the East, in folio, 1745, vol. ii. p. 80.

altogether a considerable space of ground, sufficient to justify a presumption of its being the site of some early settlement or important military station.

The name of this place at present is Om-el-Hamid, as we learnt from the peasants and from our guide; and it is probably the same that Pococke describes, where he found the remains of an ancient temple of the Ionic order in a less ruined state than it now is, to judge by his description. *

We descended from hence to fall into the main road, which still continues along the fragments of the paved way, until we arrived, at half past one, at the coffee-house and farrier's shed of Nakhora. Close by this station, and still nearer the sea, is a high square tower, called Bourje-el-Nakhora, apparently an ancient structure, but now deserted; and on the brow of the eastern hill is a small village, called Gherbet-Hamoul.

We alighted here, to take a pipe and a cup of coffee on the clean straw-matted benches within; and after many complimentary salutations from the old master of the shed, we quitted it to pursue our way.

During the next hour we ascended the steep and rugged promontory which forms the cape

* Pococke's Description of the East, vol. ii. part 1. p. 80.

of Nakhora, on the summit of which we observed a small square building used as a resting-place, and a coffee-house, like the one we had visited below. Upon the rocky brow of this lofty hill, we observed some Syrian shepherds feeding their flocks, and were struck with the extreme darkness of their complexions, which was even of a deeper shade than that of the Arabs of Aden and Macullah, on the southernmost coasts of Yemen. We learnt that these were Bedouins from the eastern deserts, who, when the severity of the winter deprives their flocks of pasture there, approach the frontiers of the cultivated land, and advance even to the sea-coast in small parties, to let their goats browse on the wild heath and bushes of the uncultivated hills. The dresses of these men were similar to those worn by the Bedouins of Suez; and each of their flocks was attended by large shaggy dogs, who, though they gave the alarm at our approach, were silenced at the first call of their keepers.

The ascent of the road, winding over the rugged front of this promontory, reminded me very forcibly of similar scenes in Spanish mountains, as well as on the western shores of Portugal; and here and there were striking resemblances to the rocky and sea-beaten coasts of Cornwall and Devonshire.

On attaining the summit of the hill, an

extensive and beautiful landscape opened on us across the whole of the plain of Acre, from the eminence on which we stood, to Mount Carmel, on which Elias sacrificed, and where stands the monastery giving name to an order of friars. This plain, from the boundaries thus given, is about fifteen miles in length from north to south, and about five in general breadth from the sea-shore to the hills which border it on the east. We saw it now under every disadvantage of the season; but when clothed with the verdure of spring it must present an interesting picture, bordered as it is by the sea on one side, with the towns of Zib and Acre in sight near the shore, and on the other with a range of hills inland, on the western brow of which are also seen towns and villages, and ruined vestiges of former splendour, marking the sites of places consecrated by their celebrity or their high antiquity. *

* This mountain of Nakhora is undoubtedly the Scala Tyriarum, or ladder of the Tyrians, mentioned by Josephus as being the northern mountain-boundary of Ptolemais or Acre, and distant from it a hundred furlongs, to which this nearly corresponds. See Josephus's Jewish War, b. ii. c. 10. s. 2. This range was erroneously taken, by the early writers, for the mountain of Saron, and as falsely, by Pococke, for the beginning of Lebanon or Anti-Lebanon. See Pococke, vol. ii. part 1. c. 20. p. 79. The ladder of the Tyrians is mentioned also in 1 Macc. c. xi. v. 59.

We alighted to descend from the mountain by a steep and rugged road, and remounted, to enter on the plain, about three o'clock. We passed several springs and brooks, with a ruined fountain, in the way, all yielding an abundance of excellent water. The soil, which resembled the dark loam of Egypt, was now chiefly covered with thistles of a larger kind and in greater abundance than I had ever before seen. We met here a company of Tartars, wearing their peculiar dresses, and high black caps with yellow crowns. They were well mounted, and each carried behind his saddle a small black leather portmanteau, fastened with straps and buckles exactly in the English style. They were the handsomest men we had yet seen in Syria, and, being perhaps now on duty, passed us hastily, returning our salute, but asking no questions.

In about an hour after entering on the plain, we passed by the town of Zib, leaving it on the right at the distance of about half a mile. It is small, and situated on a hill near the sea, having a few palm-trees rearing themselves above its dwellings. It is conjectured with great probability, to have been the Achzib of the Scriptures, mentioned in the book of Joshua, where the borders of the inheritance of the tribe of Asher are described as reaching from Helkath to Mount Carmel westward, and commencing at

the great Zidon on the north. "And then the coast turneth to Ramah, and to the strong city Tyre; and the coast turneth to Hosah; and the outgoings thereof are at the sea from the coast to Achzib." * It is afterwards again mentioned in the Book of Judges, as one of the places from which the invading Jews could not expel the original possessors. "Neither did Asher drive out the inhabitants of Accho, nor the inhabitants of Zidon, nor of Ahlab, nor of Achzib, nor of Helbah, nor of Aphik, nor of Rehob." †

Nearly opposite to the town we crossed the bed of a torrent now dry; and on the hills to the eastwards of us, distant three or four miles, we saw an isolated column of considerable grandeur, still erect. A castle, said to be of great antiquity, was also pointed out to the south-east, upon the brow of the bordering hills, but both of these were too far from the road to be visited. In the plain, we saw scattered clusters of green trees, and the olive was every where visible. These, with some other local features, gave the whole a general resemblance to the plains of Sedikieuy, crossed on going to that village from Smyrna.

After having passed over a small eminence covered over with rocks and briars, we came at length into fields and well-cultivated grounds, with stone causeways thrown over the brooks,

* Joshua, chap. xix. v. 29. † Judges, chap. i. v. 31.

good roads, and other symptoms of a greater attention to agricultural improvement than we had witnessed in the neglected waste which we had just quitted. Acre was now full in sight; but as the sun was nearly set, and there was no hope of gaining admittance through the gates after dark, it became necessary to think of some halting-place. We turned off, therefore, to the village of El Mufshoor, near a fine aqueduct on our left, and found a hospitable shelter there, among a peasant's family, with whom we took up our lodging for the night.

The village in which we were received consisted only of a few cottages, but these were in general large and well built of stone. The one beneath the roof of which we had taken shelter was at least forty feet square, and fifteen feet high. Besides its outer walls, there were two inner divisions of two arches each, uniformly and strongly constructed; and these, with the walls themselves, supported a flat roof of beams and brushwood laid over the whole, its upper part being terraced with lime or mortar. As these arcades went longitudinally through the building, there were formed three separate compartments in it, in the first of which, beginning from the left, where the door was, were stalled four oxen, some sheep, our two mules, and an

ass; in the second, clean mats were spread among heaps of raw cotton for us; and into the third, or inner one, where were the hearth and fire, the family themselves retired, for our accommodation.

I had occasion to observe, throughout the whole of our way from Soor thus far, that the history of the struggle between the French and English at Acre was familiar to every one, and that the latter were always spoken of with great respect, even where we passed ourselves as belonging to the other nation. Here, also, when the inquiries of the family were answered, and a short conversation had taken place on our histories, our voyages, &c. the best mattrass and quilted coverlet were produced, with two cushions for my repose; a divan and bed were instantly made, and a supper of rice, eggs, olives, and salad, prepared for us all by the mother, while the children assisted to contribute to our comfort by every possible means.

The old man was nearly seventy years of age, and recapitulated all the circumstances of the siege of Acre with the minuteness of an eye-witness. His wife was about thirty, brown, but handsome, and laden with silver ornaments, particularly armlets, above the elbow, of a massive size and curious workmanship, and a

band or fillet round her head, formed of, perhaps, a hundred large silver coins, overlapping each other like the scales of ancient armour.

After supper, every one was occupied in breaking the shells of the cotton and extracting the wool; while those of our own party, consisting of our muleteer, an Arab soldier whom we overtook on his way to Jaffa, my old Tocat servant, and myself, all joined in the occupation; and while the family thus benefited by our labours, the whole company were amused by some droll tales of the muleteer. We continued thus to enjoy the cheerful happiness of a social and good-humoured circle until ten o'clock, when we lay down with mutual blessings to repose.

9th. We were all stirring early, but the cold was so great, the thermometer in the air being at 45°, that we did not move from the hearth where we took our pipes and coffee until sunrise.

If my indignation had been excited at the price demanded for our entertainment at Soor, by men calling themselves respectable merchants, the behaviour of these poor cottagers was such as to draw forth very different feelings. The amount here demanded for all that we had taken from them, including provisions for our animals and four persons, was only three piastres

and a half, or little more than half a dollar, nor would they name any compensation for the services they had otherwise rendered us; and when a dollar was presented to them, to include both the charges of our consumption and their own reward, they were evidently as grateful to us as they were happy.

To warm ourselves by exercise, we set out from the village on foot, after halting a moment to observe the works in the neighbourhood. These consisted of a large fountain, which being walled round we could not enter. It is said to be supplied with water from the same springs in the mountains as those which fill the cisterns of Ras-el-Ain. Near it was an extensive and well cultivated garden of Suliman Pasha, the present governor of Acre, in which, among other shrubs, we noticed several clusters of young waving cypress-trees. From this reservoir led off an aqueduct going all the way from hence to Acre, a distance of not less than three or four miles, and supplying that city with water. In the first portion of this work, which crossed a narrow valley, we counted nearly a hundred arches, each from twelve to fifteen feet in the span, and the central ones from twenty-five to thirty feet high. From hence it continued over the hill on which the village of Mufshoor is situated, again crossed a valley, descended underneath the summit

of another hill to pass through it, and after exhibiting several noble portions of lofty arches in an excellent style of building, it discharged its waters without the walls of Acre, where, at the present moment, it was undergoing some repairs close to the city. The character of this work differed materially from that of the aqueduct near Tyre. But though inferior to it in execution, it was greater in extent, as there were here not less than five hundred arches, and the whole was carried over uneven ground. It resembled in its construction the aqueduct which supplies the citadel of Cairo with water from the Nile, at Masr-el-Atik, and, like it, I should conceive it to have been a Saracenic work of the age of the Khalifs. Maundrell's silence respecting it, when the minute fidelity of his topographical notices are considered, would almost have induced me to suppose that it did not exist in his time, were it not that there is a still greater difficulty in believing the Turks of the last century to have been the projectors and executors of such an undertaking. We could collect no positive information on the subject from any one of whom we enquired, but merely that it was old; and all that we ourselves could testify was, that by whomsoever it might have been built, it was a useful and a well finished work.

It was about nine o'clock when we crossed a stone bridge where we mounted to enter Acre. The approach to this city is rendered interesting by the appearance of gardens and cultivated land without, and by the full foliage of innumerable trees rearing their heads within the walls. The city itself stands at the extremity of a plain on the sea-shore, insomuch that we were obliged to descend on approaching its south-eastern gate of entrance.

The view of the city from hence presents the appearance of large and substantial buildings, but has nothing of splendour: as, besides the flat-roofed houses, and the mere points of some low minarehs, there are only the spire and two domes of one mosque visible from any distance.

This tall and slender column has neither the lightness nor the gay ornament which characterize some of the minarehs of Egypt, and particularly those of Menzaleh on the eastern lakes, but resembles more the style of those used in Smyrna; namely, a plain tapered shaft, with a gallery scarcely distinguishable from the rest, crowned by a blue conical summit.

The walls of the city appear to be of considerable strength. Those of the northern angle are turretted round with pointed battlements like the sea-side walls of Mokha; and the south-eastern front presents a range of cannon pointed through

large and regular embrasures; while a broad ditch below, and angles of different bearings for the guns above, give the whole a formidable aspect.

The entrance through the gate is also imposing, and promises, besides a well-fortified, a well-built and opulent town; as here is a wide-paved street, a range of work-shops and benches on the left, a land-custom-house and fountain on the right, and a troop of soldiers generally on guard on both sides.

We continued through paved streets, growing narrower and more dirty, till after many turnings we alighted at the okella, in which the English consul resided, and to him we addressed ourselves for protection.

We were received by him with great openness of manner, and soon furnished with an apartment for our accommodation. My first enquiry was directed to the sole object of our visit here, namely, the procuring a firman from Suliman Pasha, to protect us through his dominions. We had the mortification to learn, however, that he had departed on the morning of the preceding day, with a large body of troops, to secure the possession of the districts of Galilee, Samaria, and all Judea to the southward, while one of his confidential officers had previously marched with another body towards Damascus, to prepare the

way for the entrance of his master there. At my request, Signor Malagamba, the consul, caused enquiries to be made of the officer left in charge as governor, whether he could not furnish us with the document which we required; and as an immediate answer could not be obtained, we passed the interval in a ramble through the interior of the town, ending by making a tour around its walls on the land side, and visiting the port and landing-place from the sea.

It was not until after the noon sleep and prayers of El-Assr*, that access could be had to the person of the governor, so that it was nearly sunset before the dragoman of the consul returned to us. He then informed us that the jurisdiction of this governor not extending beyond the walls of the city, he could afford us no document that should ensure us from molestation without them, as the governor of every village would exercise his own discretion therein, without regard to the orders of his superior, provided he was not immediately dependant on him. As long as we remained at Acre, therefore, he would hold himself responsible for our safety; but if we thought proper to depart, he could neither promise that we ourselves should be free from interruption, nor that our animals should

* This is the Mohammedan prayer between noon and sunset which generally falls between three and four o'clock.

not be pressed for the public service, since the death of the Pasha of Damascus and the designs of the Pasha of Acre had spread a general ferment among the soldiers; and at this moment every thing was in requisition by opposite and powerful parties.

As it was known that Suliman would make his first halt at Jerusalem, after securing the possession of its neighbourhood, by placing his troops in the different stations on the way, it was recommended by the consul, and those whom we consulted, that we should set out for that place, where we might hope to meet him, and obtain from his hand the only protection under which it would now be safe to travel.

The French consul, with several other Europeans resident here, who came to pay us a visit on our arrival, insisted strenuously on the fact of its being impossible to pass through any part of Syria, without molestation at every step, if not provided with the firman of the pasha through whose dominions our road might lie, as the military stationed at the different towns would gladly avail themselves of so fair a pretext for ill treating and pillaging a stranger. Even thus protected, there were still many risks to encounter, from the robbers of the mountains,

and peasants of the country; and the recent murder of Mr. Boutain, a French traveller whom I had known at Cairo, was cited in confirmation of this state of things.

A second request was therefore made to the governor, to furnish us with an official letter in Arabic, stating that we were on our way to meet with Suliman Pasha, with whom we had business, and begging all his officers through whose districts we might pass to suffer us to pursue our journey without interruption. It was late in the evening before the dragomán returned, but he brought with him the letter required, stating that the governor had granted it with great readiness, and wished us a voyage of peace.

Preparations for our departure were now necessary; and late as the hour was, and strongly as we were pressed on all sides to detain ourselves at least for a day, that arrangements might be made for our security, and a proper person chosen to accompany us, I persevered in my resolution to set out from hence with the dawn.

For this purpose we hired two fresh mules, their driver bringing with him his own ass, at the same rate as those we had ridden from Soor to this place, namely, sixty piastres for the

whole journey, or somewhat more than half a dollar per day each, including the days of return.

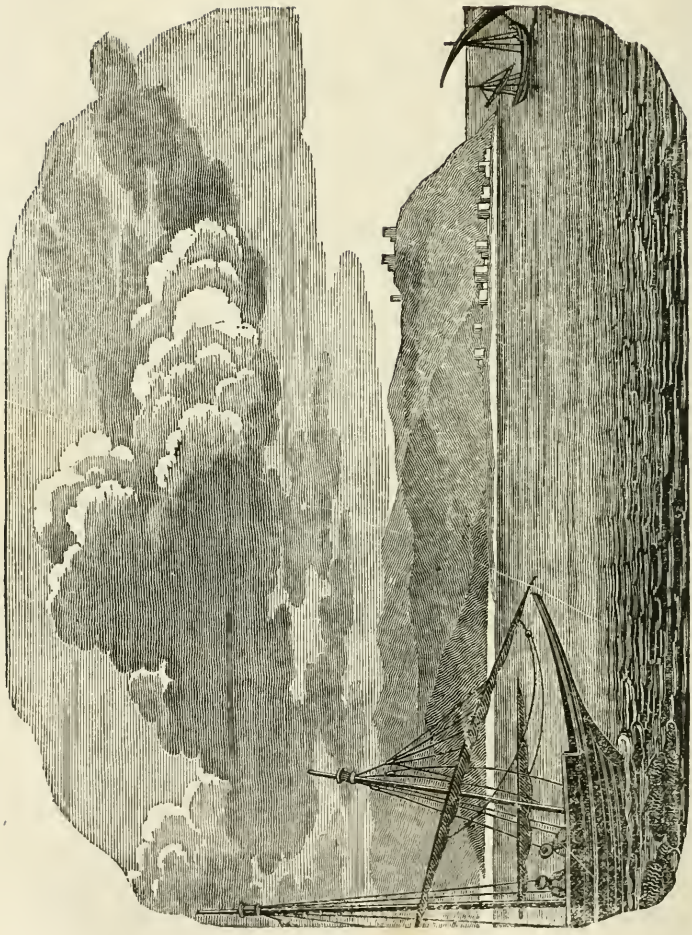
Our provisions made for the way were simply some small loaves of fresh bread, with some coffee and tobacco, water being frequent throughout the road; and having our fire-arms all charged and our bundles packed, we took leave of our European visitors, and retired early.

CHAP. IV.

DESCRIPTION OF THE TOWN OF ACRE.

January 10th. Anxiety, calculation, comparison of distances and routes, apprehension and impatience, all contributed to make the past a night of watching rather than of repose. I was out thrice before the day broke; and though the sky was dark and overcast, and the morning piercingly cold, I dressed and felt a pleasure in preparing to depart. With the first gleam of light, it began to pour down a torrent of rain; the hour of sunrise passed, and no mules came; ten o'clock arrived, without an abatement of the streams that deluged the streets; and even at noon the sun was still obscured, and a heavy south-western gale supplied fresh floods to the darkened atmosphere.

We had sent to the muleteer, who had refused to start on such a day, and those around us knew not how to interpret such a rashness of impatience as that which the very suggestion of moving displayed. We were therefore confined to the house the whole of the day; and, to ren-



BAY OF ACRE AND PROMONTORY OF MOUNT CARMEL.

der its detention less tedious, I passed the close of it in embodying such observations as I had myself made in my examination of the town, on the afternoon of the day before, with other notices that I had been able to collect regarding it in conversation with those long resident here.

The town of Acre is seated on the extremity of a plain on the edge of the sea-shore, and nearly at the bottom of a bay formed by the promontory of Mount Carmel on the south-west, and the skirts of the plain itself on the north-east. This bay, from the cape to the city, may be about ten miles across; from the extremity of the cape to the bottom of the bay, on the south-east, more than half that distance; but from the bottom of the bay to the town of Acre on the north-west, scarcely more than two miles in length, which is widely different from the most modern maps, where the bay is made to extend at least ten miles inland to the south-east of the town.

In fair weather the bay itself might offer a roadstead for large ships, but it could not be safely frequented by them in winter; and the port, which is a small shallow basin behind a ruined mole, is scarcely capable of affording shelter to a dozen boats moored head and stern in a tier. Vessels coming on the coast, therefore, either to load or discharge, generally visit the

road of Caipha, a place of anchorage within the bay at the foot of Mount Carmel, near which the river Kishon discharges itself into the sea. A vessel from Trieste was loading a cargo of cotton there, shipped by the British consul, the captain of which ship was of our party on the preceding evening.

This city was the Accho of the Scriptures already mentioned with Achzib, as one of the strong-holds of which the tribe of Asher could not dispossess their Canaanitish enemies, but consented to dwell among them as inhabitants of the land. * It rose to higher consequence under the liberal auspices of the first Ptolemy, who, after enlarging and beautifying it, honoured it with his name.† In after ages, it became a warmly contested port between the crusaders and the Saracens ‡; was long possessed by the former, and adorned with cathedral churches and other public works; and after passing from the Christians to the Mohammedans, and from the Mohammedans to the Christians again, it

* Judges, c. i. v. 31, 32.

† Strabo, l. xvi. p. 758. Cellarius, Geog. Antiq. l. iii. c. 13. p. 294. Cluveris, l. v. c. 21. p. 370. 4to. A. D. 1711. Reland, Palæstina Illustrata, l. iii. de urbibus, p. 534.

‡ Extraits Historiques, relatifs au Temps de Croisades, du livre Insol Djelil fet tarikhi Koceds vel Khalit. Par M. de Hammer, inséré dans les Mines de l'Orient, vol. iii. p. 80. Vienne, en folio.

fell at length under the power of the Arabs, after a long and bloody siege. It is said to have been then laid utterly waste, in revenge for the blood it had cost its besiegers; after which, in the emphatic language of one of the most eloquent of our historians, "a mournful and solitary silence prevailed along the coast which had so long resounded with the world's debate." *

Maundrell, even so late as the year 1696, after recapitulating the advantages of its situation both by sea and land, says, "Notwithstanding all these advantages, it has never been able to recover itself since its last fatal overthrow. For besides a large kane, in which the French factors have taken up their quarters, and a mosque, and a few poor cottages, you see nothing here but a vast and spacious ruin." † It has risen again from its ashes since that period, as its present state will best testify; and even since the period of the celebrated struggle here between the English and French, the history of which is familiar to every one, it has been strengthened, beautified, and improved.

Of the Canaanitish Accho, it would be thought idle perhaps to seek for remains, yet some pre-

* Gibbon's Hist. vol. xi. c. 59. p. 142. 168.

† Maundrell's Journey, p. 72. D'Anville's Compendium of Ancient Geography, vol. i. p. 412.

sented themselves to my observation so peculiar in form and materials, and of such high antiquity, as to leave no doubt in my own mind of their being the fragments of buildings constructed in the earliest ages. On the south-east front of the newly-erected outer walls of the city, in sinking the ditch before them to the depth of twenty feet below the level of the present soil, the foundations of buildings were exposed to view, apparently of private dwellings of the humblest order, as they were not more than from ten to twelve feet square, with small door-ways and passages leading from one to the other. As we obtained admittance into the ditch for the purpose of examining these remains more closely, we found the materials of which they were originally constructed to be a highly-burnt brick, with a mixture of cement and sand as well as small portions of stone in some parts, the whole so firmly bound together by age and the strongly adhesive power of the cement used, as to form one solid mass. As the walls were of some thickness, though the apartments they enclosed were small, they offered an excellent material for building, and portions of it had been used in the foundations of the outer walls of the fort, in the same way as fragments of the old Greek city have been applied to the building of the fortifications before the modern Alexandria.

Of the splendour of Ptolemais, no perfect monument remains; but throughout the town are seen shafts of red and grey granite and marble pillars, some used as thresholds to large door-ways, others lying neglected on the ground, and others again used as supporters of the interior galleries of okellas or public inns, forming piazzas around the central courts below. Of these, altogether, we counted nearly two hundred in different parts of the town; and besides several slabs of fine marble, perhaps once used in the pavements of some hall or palace, now collected near a magazine at the north end of the town, we observed a fine Corinthian capital, in perfect preservation, lying at the door of a new mosque on the west, and the fragment of another of the composite order, the diameter of which was upwards of five feet.

The Saracenic remains are only to be partially traced in the inner walls of the town, which have themselves been so often broken down and repaired as to leave little visible of the original work; and all the mosques, fountains, bazars, and other buildings, are in a style rather Turkish than Arabic, excepting only an old but regular and well-built khan or caravanserai, which might, perhaps, be attributed to the Saracen age.

The Christian ruins are altogether gone, scarcely leaving a trace of the spot on which

they stood. The cathedral church of St. Andrew, the church of St. John the almsgiver, the tutelar saint of the order of Knights Hospitallers, with the convent of that order, and the magnificent palace of its grand master, as well as the church belonging to a nunnery distinguished by the chastity of its abbess during the siege and storm of the city in 1291, and other churches, palaces, monasteries, forts, &c. all recapitulated by Maundrell * in his account of this place, are now no more to be seen. Even the three Gothic arches mentioned by Dr. Clarke †, and called by the English sailors "King Richard's palace," have been razed to the ground, so that the very sites of all these monuments of early days will soon become matter of uncertainty and dispute.

In the period between Maundrell's visit and that of Dr. Clarke, I know not what causes may have contributed to have swept away the traces of so many remains, or whether some still existed then besides the arcades which he noticed; but the subsequent destruction has been entirely caused by the late Djezzar Pasha, in improving the fortifications and constructing the outer walls of the present town.

The city of Accho, for so it is here called, having

* Maundrell's Journey, p. 73. 8vo.

† Clarke's Travels, vol. ii. p. 379.

changed its Greek for its original Hebrew name * is now a square of somewhat more than a mile in circumference. Its situation and boundaries cannot be better expressed than in the words of Josephus, who says, — "This Ptolemais is a maritime city of Galilee, built in the great plain. It is encompassed with mountains; that on the east side, sixty furlongs off, belongs to Galilee; but that on the south belongs to Carmel, which is distant from it an hundred and twenty furlongs; that on the north is the highest, and is called by the people of the country, 'The ladder of the Tyrians,' which is at the distance of an hundred furlongs." †

On the north-west and south-west sides, the town is enclosed by a single wall; which, on the north-west side, ranges along a sandy beach, and is unfortified; and, on the south-west side, is built on rocks, having its base washed by the sea, and being mounted with about forty pieces of cannon, chiefly of brass. The north-east and south-east sides face towards the land, and are each secured by a double wall and ditch; the inner ones being the old Saracenic works, with

* Ammianus Marcellinus observed, that, even in his time, the Greek and Roman names of cities in Syria, were not commonly used by the natives of the country; and this observation will apply still more generally in the present day.

† Josephus' Wars of the Jews, book ii. c. 10. s. 2.

circular towers and battlements, often destroyed and repaired; and the outer ones being the work of Djezzar Pasha, who, on the retirement of the French from Syria, applied all his efforts to improve the fortifications of the place. These outer walls are from thirty to forty feet in height, and are of ordinary workmanship, the masonry showing already opening chasms in many parts. They are strengthened also by semicircular bastions, at stated distances, and provided with embrasures for cannon; and around them is a dry ditch of from fifteen to twenty feet in depth, and twenty to twenty-five in breadth.

In the ditch of the south-east front are the supposed Canaanitish remains of buildings already described, with several shafts of small and plain marble columns near them; and in that on the north-east is a well, from which water is drawn by an ox and a wheel, as in the Delta of Egypt. Around all the outer fortifications we counted about eighty pieces of cannon mounted; but as there are said to be some also on the inner walls, which were partly inaccessible to us, there may be, perhaps, from one hundred to one hundred and twenty pieces fit for service.

Opposite to the south-east front is a Turkish cemetery, and a small garden; and, by the beach near the sea, where boats are laid up for repair, is the only gate of entrance to the city.

The way is here paved with large white stones, and on passing within the gate the appearance of the whole is prepossessing.

The interior of the town presents a mixture of the gaudy and the miserable, the ill-contrived and the useful; in which, however, the latter may be said to prevail. Among the chief buildings are, an extensive palace of Suliman Pasha, with spacious courts, fountains, &c.; opposite to this, a fine mosque, the dome and minareh of which are seen conspicuously from without; and another palace of Ali Pasha, son of Suliman's Khiayia, or deputy, lately deceased. These buildings, with a fountain near them in the public street, enclosed by a brass-work frame, and highly ornamented, are all executed in the style of Constantinople. There are also gardens near them filled with trees in fine foliage, among which the tall and dark-green cypress is distinguishable.

Of the bazars, besides several ordinary ones, there are two long ranges covered in by an arched roof, and lighted from above, as well as paved with flag-stones throughout, having benches on each side, and offering shelter both from the rain and the sun, and security to the property deposited there, being closed by large gates at each end.

The old khan, or caravansera, already spoken

of, is one of the best that I remember to have seen. It consists, like those establishments in general, of a large square court, with a fine marble fountain in the centre, a piazza of arcades going round the whole, and the galleries above this containing rooms for the accommodation of strangers. These upper galleries, instead of being altogether open, as I have usually seen them, are furnished with lattice-work balconies, or projecting windows, quite in the Arabian style; and the whole, from its apparent age, as well as finished ornaments and style of construction, may be considered as the most interesting and only perfect edifice of the Saracen days now remaining here.

Besides the okella appropriated to the Franks, in which we were lodged, there are several others throughout the town, occupied by Christians of different sects, and all resembling caravanseras in their arrangement, like those of Rosetta and Alexandria. There are also many spacious and well-built magazines, particularly one built by the Pasha, with a paved central court and a surrounding piazza of arcades, formed by about forty granite pillars from the ruins of the ancient city.

The private dwellings are all of stone, but differ in size and plan; the roofs are invariably flat, and provided with terraces for taking the

air in the evenings of summer. Many of the streets are paved, and one or two are of tolerable width; but in general they are narrow and dirty. Near the north-west extreme of the town, within the wall, is a large space, wherein are many ruined buildings, heaps of rubbish, and an accumulation of rain-water.

The religious edifices are, a Catholic convent, a Greek church, and a Maronite place of worship, with seven mosques. The Christian churches are all small, and hidden among private dwellings; and of the mosques there are not more than four or five that are conspicuous. The lofty minareh and dome of that built by Suliman Pasha is seen from as great a distance as the city can be distinguished; the others are built in a similar style, but of smaller size, and every one of them is surmounted by the crescent, an emblem more used by the Turks than the Arabs, and which I do not remember often to have seen in Egypt, except at the capital.

The stationary inhabitants of Accho are formed one-half of Mohammedans, in equal portions of Arabs and Turks; one-fourth of Christians, including all their different persuasions; and the remaining fourth of Jews, who have two synagogues here. The chief priest of these Israelites pretends to be a descendant in the right line from Aaron, and his

family and his relations are highly respected. This man, who is called Mallim Haim, is the chief minister of Suliman Pasha, and the real fountain of all influence in Accho. He owes this privilege to his great wealth, as both the government and private individuals are largely indebted to him; and without his knowledge and assistance no public measure, and little private commerce, is entered into. His immediate descendants are numerous, as he is advanced in age, and they all participate more or less in his respectability.

The military force of the Pasha is said to consist of about ten thousand cavalry and two thousand infantry, not more than one-fourth of which are now here to garrison the town, the remainder being employed in the pending expedition to Damascus.

The bazars are well supplied with the necessaries of life at a moderate rate, the climate is healthy, and the government not thought oppressive; so that the condition of the people is neither desperate nor miserable.

Of the Franks here, the chief are the consuls of England and France; the first is an Italian, who receives no compensation from our government, but trades with certain privileges of office; the latter is an old gentleman from Marseilles, who is confined by the very proper laws

of his country, in this respect, to attend merely to the duties of his station. Besides these, there are two surgeons, and half a dozen merchants of different nations, all preserving their European dresses, but living with little union and apparently less happiness; being in both these particulars certainly inferior both to the Turks and the Arabs, whom they constantly affect to despise.

The port is formed by the jutting out of a mole on the south-east angle of the town, to the distance of three or four hundred yards, where it is terminated by a tower, and either a lantern or the gallery of a mosque. The shelter afforded by it, when whole, must have been always imperfect; but now that it is broken down in several parts by the sea, and going fast to ruin, vessels are almost as much exposed there as if they lay on the outside. This work is said to have been executed by Djezzar Pasha, before whose time the bay was only visited in summer; and even now, ships of any burthen, since they can never anchor within the mole, ride without in the fair season, and in foul weather take shelter at Caipha on the other side of the bay. The trade consists chiefly in the export of cotton raised in the neighbourhood, and in the importation of common wares for the consumption of the country around.

Benjamin of Tudela speaks of Accho under the names of Akadi, or Ghaco, describing it as one day's journey from Tyre, forming the limit of the tribe of Asser, and the commencement of the land of Israel. It was then celebrated for its port, and had a river called Cadumin, which traversed it. He adds, that it was bounded by Mount Carmel on the one side, and by the sea on the other; which description would best apply to some place near the river at Caipha, or, at least, along that part of the bay, where Carmel would be on the one side and the sea on the other; but which is not true of the present position of Accho.

The interest excited by the fame of the celebrated Jezzar Pasha, who acted so conspicuous a part on this theatre during his life, is sufficient, perhaps, to warrant a belief that an equal degree of interest would be felt about the manner of his death, and the events to which that catastrophe led.

Hadjee Ahmet, Pasha of Acre, commonly called Jezzar, or the Butcher, was seized by a disease commencing in a tertian fever, which, after confining him nine months, put an end to his life on the 7th of May 1804, in the 75th year of his age, and the 30th of his pashalic of Seida. He was a man famous for his personal strength, his ferocious courage, his cruelty, and his insa-

tiable avarice, as well as for the great power which the active exertion of all these qualities together procured for him.

He had formed the design of engrossing the whole government of Syria and Egypt; and had succeeded, about a year and a half previously to his death, in uniting in his own person the pashalics of Seyda, Damascus, and Tripoli, besides the nominal viceroyship of Egypt; so that there remained only the pashalic of Aleppo for the completion of his desires; and this he probably would have attained, had he lived but a few years longer.

Some short time before his decease, he was conscious of the approach of death; but so far was he from showing any remorse for his past actions, or discovering any indications of a wish to make atonement for them, that the last moments of this tyrant were employed in contriving fresh murders, as if to close with new horrors the bloody tragedy of his reign. Calling to him his father-in-law, Sheikh Taha, as he himself lay on the bed of death, "I perceive," said he, "that I have but a short time to live. What must I do with these rascals in my prisons? Since I have stripped them of every thing, what good will it do them to be let loose again naked into the world? The greatest part of them are governors, who, if they return to their posts, will be forced

to ruin a great many poor people, in order to replace the wealth which I have taken from them; so that it is best both for their own sakes, and for that of others, that I should destroy them. They will be then soon in a place where proper care will be taken of them, a very good place, where they will neither be permitted to molest any one, nor be themselves exposed to molestation. Yes, yes! that's best! Despatch them!"

In obedience to the charitable conclusion of this pathetic apostrophe, twenty-three wretches were immediately added to the long list of the victims of Jezzar Pasha's cruelty; and it is said they were all of them thrown into the sea together, as the most expeditious mode of execution.

Jezzar had likewise in confinement at Caipha, Nassif Pasha, whom it is supposed he had no intention of leaving behind him; but being probably surprized by death before he had made up his mind on the precise time and manner of his execution, Nassif Pasha escaped and retired to Damascus. This is the Pasha who took possession of Cairo while the French army marched out of it to attack the grand vizier, and who so gallantly defended that city against the united force of the enemy under Kleber during thirty-four days, and at last made an honourable capitulation for his retreat.

The grand vizier thought it proper and pru-

dent on that occasion to cashier him, and he was banished to Cyprus. Some time afterwards that punishment was mitigated to an exile at Aleppo, where he remained till the passage of the grand vizier through that city in the spring of 1802. He then received a promise that, on the vizier's return to Constantinople, he should be provided for; but soon after, losing all hope of regaining the confidence and favour of the Porte, he threw himself into the arms of Jezzar, who had on former reverses of fortune behaved towards him with extraordinary kindness and munificence. He was also at this time received with equal tokens of sympathy and regard, and treated with the most princely liberality.

Jezzar promised to procure for him the government of Damascus; and the Porte, at his solicitation, sent him a firman for the same, with a blank for the name of the governor, to be filled by Jezzar himself at his pleasure. Nassif Pasha now flattered himself that he was on the point of preferment. He was told to prepare for his journey, and to hold himself in readiness to repair to his post. The day appointed for his departure at length arrived, when he found that it was precisely that which Jezzar had chosen for his arrest. His confinement was in Caipha, where he languished for two years, and where his health was so much impaired by the constant

dread of losing life, that at the death of Jezzar he was unable to make any effort at grasping the supreme authority in Acre, but withdrew to Damascus, and left his rival Ismael Pasha in quiet possession of the immense resources of the deceased tyrant.

Nassif Pasha was a descendant of the ancient family of Syrian Pashas called Azam, and a man of great weight, as well from the reputation of his abilities, courage, and liberality, as by his illustrious birth.

Ismael Pasha, like Nassif Pasha, was also in confinement until the death of Jezzar. His history is succinctly this.

In the year 1800, Ismael Pasha accompanied the grand army to Egypt, in the character of Kiahiya, to a Pasha who perished in an explosion of gunpowder at El-Arish. He was then patronised by Nassif Pasha, who obtained for him the dignity of the tails, and shortly after the government of Marash. He did not long exercise that authority before he fell into disgrace, by surpassing in his extortions the usual bounds of Turkish oppression.

The grand vizier formed a plan of making him suffer a capital punishment. He appointed him to the government of Sewas, and, at the same time, concerted with one of the chiefs of the Turkomans, that they should, on his quitting

Marash, way-lay him, seize him, and send him in chains to the imperial camp. The Turkomans fell upon him with a strong force; but so far from this treacherous stratagem procuring the ruin of Ismael, it was an indirect cause of his subsequent prosperity; for, in repelling the attack of the Turkomans, he displayed such gallantry and vigour, that it established his reputation for extraordinary courage and fortitude, and procured him the friendship of Jezzar Pasha, to whom he fled for protection, and by whom he was kindly received as a man suffering under the persecution of the vizier.

Jezzar was at that time engaged in besieging Abu-Marack Pasha, in Jaffa. This was a Pasha who, while in Egypt, had been named to the government of Damascus, but who, on reaching Jaffa on his way thither, found himself blockaded in that town by the troops of Jezzar, whose design was, thereby to force the Porte to revoke that nomination, and appoint Abdallah Pasha in his stead. Jezzar immediately put Ismael Pasha at the head of the troops who had encamped before Jaffa, and after a siege of ten months, Abu-Marack was forced to abandon the place, and the Porte was compelled to appoint to the government of Damascus the Pasha of Jezzar's own choice.

In these transactions, however, Ismael Pasha lost the favour of Jezzar, and was in consequence

committed to prison in Acre, where he remained until the day in which the latter expired. Jezzar having no children, looked upon Ismael Pasha, it seems, as a man likely to inherit with his wealth his own rancorous hatred of the grand vizier, and his own spirit of independence of the Porte. He so well disguised those sentiments and views, that it is said that when Ismael Pasha was sent for from his confinement to come into the presence of Jezzar, he was so strongly convinced of the occasion of the message being his own execution, that he entreated to be allowed a few moments to prepare himself for death. His disappointment must have been a pleasing one, when, instead of his condemnation, he heard Jezzar declare that he had chosen him to be his successor. "There," said he, "I leave you plenty of troops, plenty of money to pay them, and good fortifications to fight in; if you are a man, you will keep them, and my enemies will then have no reason to exult in my death."

The body of Jezzar was not yet cold, when Ismael Pasha took the reins of government, and there immediately ensued the most perfect obedience to his authority. He declared, however, that he held his authority only until the will of the Porte should be made known; and, in conformity to this declaration, he caused the public seals to be affixed in due form to the

numerous magazines encumbered with the immense property accumulated by the rapine of the deceased.

The Porte had long looked with anxiety towards the death of Jezzar, as to an event that would probably put them in possession of a great booty; and that no time might be lost in the execution of the measures necessary to that end, they had secretly conferred on Ibrahim Pasha, the pashalics of Damascus, Tripoli, and Seida, to be in force from the moment of the decease of Jezzar, with orders that Ibrahim Pasha should proceed immediately on receipt of such intelligence to Acre, to sequester the treasures there in the name of the Porte.

The tidings of this event reached Aleppo, where Ibrahim was, on the 12th instant. On the 14th, he appointed his eldest son Mehemed Beg Kaimacan, to the government of Aleppo in his absence, publishing the firmans by which he himself was named the successor of Jezzar; and on the 21st he departed with about three thousand men for Damascus. He entered there, and took possession of that government without opposition; but as Ismael Pasha would not tamely submit to the authority invested in Ibrahim, and throw himself without reserve on the moderation and liberality of the Porte, he rather chose to entrust his safety to the exercise of

the extraordinary resources which fortune had put in his power.

He accordingly bid defiance to the Porte and all their orders, until he was bought over to their friendship by promises and presents. After a turbulent career of a few years only, he fell a victim at last to the treachery of his supposed friends, and was succeeded by Suliman, the present Pasha, whose reign has been as tranquil and favourable to his subjects as those which preceded it were stormy, destructive, and unhappy.

The very essence of the Turkish system of politics is calculated, however, to make rebels of men otherwise disposed to be faithful, especially in cases of inheritance. Let the case of Ismael Pasha be fairly stated, and it will be evident that he had no alternative between repelling by force the authority of the Porte, and laying his head passively on the block.

Treasures had fallen into his hands, which, however great, could never equal the exaggerated expectations that were formed of them; so that though he might in reality give all, he would certainly be required still to give more, and in the end be put to torture to reveal hoards existing only in the ardent imagination of his rapacious masters.

CHAP. V.

JOURNEY FROM ACRE TO NAZARETH.

January 11, 1816. The morning was still lowering, and detained our muleteer for some time beyond the appointed hour of departure. Having at length found him out, and brought his animals to the okella, we took leave of Signore Malagamba, our consul, with thanks for his civilities during our stay, and having the wishes of the European gentlemen for our safe journey, we mounted and left the gates of Accha about nine o'clock.

After riding for nearly an hour by the sea-side, passing in the way the apparent outlet of a small stream, which may, perhaps, be the river Belus of Maundrell, Pococke, and Clarke, we struck off to the eastward. Here we crossed a space of at least a mile, formed of sand-hills, and long grass, like those which border the southern shore of the Delta, and like those, no doubt, thrown up by the constant action of the sea blown by a prevailing wind on the coast, and

occasioning a continually agitated surf on the beach.

Strabo, Pliny, Tacitus, Josephus, and many other writers, mention the river Belus, as famous for producing the sand of which glass was first made. Fable has assumed that Hercules, being sent to seek for some herb whose virtues might heal his wounds, found on the banks of this river the colocasia, the juices of which effected it. Some ancient writers, indeed, derived the oldest names of Accha from this circumstance related of its neighbouring river, as Ἄκκη in the Greek language, signifies cures.* Even more sober details of history, regarding this discovery upon its banks, have an air of fable in them, as the Roman naturalist ascribes it to the accidental combinations of the necessary materials for the fusion of the sand, while some mariners were preparing a meal on it, their cauldron being supported by blocks of nitre as it stood over the fire.† The Greek geographer remarks, however, that this property is not peculiar to the sands of Belus, but is found in those of the whole coast, from Ptolemais to Tyre, and that

* Pococke's Description of the East, vol. i. part i. c. 14. p. 55.

Bochart ridicules this fable, and objects to the derivation.—Phaleg et Canaan, pars prior, l. i. c. 5. p. 377. E.

† Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. xxxvi. c. 26—65.

it was chiefly at Sidon that the art of making it into glass was known.*

The Jewish historian, though he speaks of the river incidentally only, in describing the situation of Ptolemais, could not omit the stories which were current in his own times regarding it, though equally fabulous with that of Hercules curing his wounds. "The very small river Belus," says he, in speaking of Ptolemais, "runs by it, at the distance of two furlongs †; near which there is a Memnon's monument; and hath near it a place no longer than a hundred cubits, which deserves admiration; for the place is round and hollow, and affords such sand as glass is made of; which place, when it hath been emptied by the many ships there loaded ‡, is filled again by the winds, which bring into it, as it were on purpose, that sand which lay remote, and was no more than bare common sand, while this mine presently turns it into glassy sand. And what is to me still more wonderful,

* Strabo, Geog. lib. xvi. p. 758. Cellarius, Geog. Ant. lib. iii. c. 13. p. 295. 4to. Reland. l. i. c. 45. p. 289.

† This river is still very small, and, as may be seen from the time of our passing it, is little more than two furlongs from the present town of Accha, where Ptolemais stood.

‡ It was not only carried to Sidon on ship-board for the manufactories there, in the time of Strabo, but afterwards furnished those of Italy, as late as the 17th century, though there is now no demand for it. — Doubdan's Voyage.

that glassy sand which is superfluous, and is once removed out of the place, becomes common sand again. And this is the nature of the place we are now speaking of." *

We saw nothing that could even warrant a conjecture of its being the monument to Memnon spoken of by Josephus, nor could we learn any thing explanatory of the singular properties of the round and hollow pit which he describes as giving to the sand of the river all its virtues. Tradition does not even preserve a faint remembrance, either of the tale of Hercules wounded and wandering along its banks, or of the Phœnician mariners preparing their food by its stream.

It was eleven o'clock before we quitted the sand and came on a soil of earth, when we passed over a paved causeway raised above a low spot on the plain, and continued our course to the southward and eastward. This road led us, by a gentle ascent, into a beautifully fertile expanse of land, now lying waste, and covered with thistles, but having an abundance of olive-trees scattered over its surface.

Still gradually ascending, and passing, at intervals, round some stoney eminences that broke

* Josephus, Wars of the Jews, b. ii. c. 10. s. 10. Cluverius, l. v. c. 21. Note σ (g) p. 730. 4to.

the general level of this plain, we arrived at one o'clock, in sight of Shufammer, which opened itself suddenly upon us from behind a rocky hill. The approach to this village is interesting, from the woody clothing of the valley below, contrasted with the bare and rugged face of the elevated lands above.

Shufammer is a village, built on a hill, and is distinctly visible both from Accho and from the road to the northward of it. It is composed of sixty or eighty white stone dwellings, rising above each other in stages, like the houses in the steep streets of Malta, or those of Milo in the Grecian archipelago; and has, towering up from its centre, a large square enclosure, resembling a castle, giving to it the appearance of a fortified post. *

On ascending the road which led up by the side of the village, we noticed a well at the foot of it, which was ascended to by steps, and its square brink of masonry supported by four arches. It appeared of considerable depth from the length of the cord used for the bucket, and there was here a party of women drawing water.

* This place corresponds with the distance given by Benjamin of Tudela, to a place called Caphur Nahum, which he says was distant from Accho four leaguer, retained its ancient name in his time, and was seated on a still higher aspect than Mount Carmel.

We met also females to the number of forty or fifty, laden with pitchers on their heads and shoulders, going down to the well, and learned from them that it was the only source of supply for the town, as there was no water to be found within it.

Above this, we saw a party of men and boys playing at cricket, using a round staff for a bat, and a ball neatly covered with goat's skin, and tolerably elastic. The dresses of both men and women were similar to those described at Soor; and the soldiers, of whom thirty or forty are stationed here within the central inclosure of the town, wore also the garments of Arabs rather than of Turks. The inhabitants are chiefly Christians and Mohammedans, but there are also some Druses, and a few Jews among them.

At the south-east end of the town, we noticed a modern cemetery, and a fragment of some ancient vaulted building of excellent masonry, part of the wall of which, and three arched windows, were all that now remained.

From hence the road was chiefly over rugged hills of lime-stone rock, with here and there only patches of soil, until at two o'clock we reached a place called Beer-el-Jahoush. On the brow of the hill, near the road by which we passed, were fragments of pillars and large hewn stones; and in the valley beneath were four wells giving

name to the place, and probably of ancient structure.

From this eminence we saw the sea in the bay of Accho; and descending, passed in half an hour afterwards the bed of a torrent, now dry, although it had rained violently on the preceding day. It was merely called a Waadi* by our guide, and was therefore not likely to have marked the passage of any large river. Our road now began to be more barren and rocky throughout, until at four we reached a small cluster of cottages, scarcely distinguishable from the grey stones of the hill on which they stood; and there being here a brook, at which females were washing, both we and our animals drank of its waters.

From hence we continually ascended over lime-stone hills, until the prospect became one unbroken scene of sterility as far as the eye could reach, and presented not only uncultivated, but uncultivatable lands all around us. We left the village of Sepphoury a little on our left, behind a rising ground; and learned, that, as all its inhabitants are Mohammedans, the very ruins which remained of the house of St. Anna had been entirely demolished, and that the visits of

* An Arabic word, applied equally to a narrow valley and to the bed of a stream.

the Christian priests to that village had long been discontinued. *

It was nearly six o'clock when we approached Nazareth, from the mountain above which we had again a prospect of Mount Carmel and the Bay of Accho; and reaching the summit of this lofty eminence, the valley and the town opened suddenly upon our view. The former was marked by enclosures of the soil, even upon rocky beds for cultivation, and the latter presented the appearance of a respectable village, with about two hundred well-built dwellings, and a handsome little mosque, with minareh, dome, and arches rising from its centre.

The hill was so steep and rugged, that we were obliged to descend it on foot; and if it

* This was so large a city in the time of Ptolemy and Cleopatra, that the former lost a number of men in an unsuccessful attack on it. (Joseph. Antiq. Jud. l. xiii. c. 12. 5.) It was the seat also of one of the five councils by which Judea was governed in the time of Gabinius. (l. xiv. c. 5. 4.) It is expressly called the capital of Galilee in several places, and enumerated amongst the greatest cities. (Life of Josephus, 9. 45. 65.) It was taken by Herod, who approached it through snow, (De Bello Jud. l. i. c. 16. 2.) and was abandoned by its inhabitants when they fled before their Saracen invaders. (Mines de l'Orient, tom. iii. p. 81.) Benjamin of Tudela says, "At Sipuria, anciently Tsiphori, were the sepulchres of Hhakados and Hhavah, who returned from Babylon; with that of Jonas, son of Amithai the Prophet, and others very ancient."

were the precipice from which the men of Nazareth threatened to cast down our Saviour headlong, as related by St. Luke *, it was a station well adapted for the execution of such a deed of death.

On entering the town, we were saluted by as many dogs as crowd the villages of Egypt, but of a black colour and larger size; and passing through several steep and narrow streets, we reached the monastery of the Franciscan friars, where we met with a welcome reception.

A room was instantly prepared for us, and soon after I enjoyed an excellent supper, washed down by the wine of Mount Libanus, in company with the superior, in the common hall. The rest of the evening was passed in the apartment of the Padre Guardiano, and in a party of six friars, one of whom had recently arrived from Aleppo, and another from Damascus; and all of them being Spaniards, they were impatient to hear the news of Europe; so that we remained together until a late hour.

12th. Intending to pass through the mountains of Nablous, as the shortest way to Jerusalem, we had quitted Accho under the hope that we should find that way sufficiently safe; but

* Chap. iv. ver. 29.

on our arrival here at Nassara *, we learned that it was impossible to proceed by it without a caravan or a large military escort; and the recent robbery of nearly fifty mules, and the murder of four of their drivers, was adduced in proof thereof.

As we were now one day advanced on our way, it was recommended to us by the friars here, whose constant journies in the neighbourhood gave them great local knowledge, to attempt the road by Galilee and the Tiberiad, as either of the ways of Samaria would occupy a day longer than this. It was added, that the death of the Pasha of Damascus, and the designs of Suliman, being now generally known among the peasantry, insubordination was beginning every where to shew itself, under the idea that the soldiery were too much occupied to be sent in search of offenders, and that in the general ferment a few murders or robberies would be overlooked and go unpunished, if not undetected.

While the mules were taking their morning food, and some little preparations were making by the friars for our comfort on the journey, I profited by the moment of leisure which it

* This is the pronunciation which the inhabitants themselves give the name of their town.

offered, to visit the chief objects of curiosity in and about the town, and to observe some particulars regarding it in addition to those which I had gleaned from the residents here.

Nassara, the Nazareth of the Scriptures, is called by Maundrell an inconsiderable village; by Brown, a pleasant one, with a respectable convent; and in Dr. Clarke's visit, was said to have so declined under the oppressive tyranny of Djezzar's government, as to seem destined to maintain its ancient reputation; since now, as of old, one might ask, with equal reason, "Can there any good thing come out of Nazareth?" *

The fact most probably is, that little alteration has taken place in its size or consequence from the time of the first to the last of these travellers; but that the terms themselves, being vague, and accompanied by no specific definition, mean with these different writers nearly the same thing. That Maundrell, after speaking of Tyre as not having one habitable dwelling left entire, and of Accho as being but a vast and spacious ruin, should consider Nassara only as an "inconsiderable village," I can as easily conceive, as that Mr. Brown, coming from Darfour and the hutted camps of the Africans, should think it "a pleasant station;" while Dr. Clarke, misled

* St. John, c. i. v. 46.

by this, perhaps, to consider it as really a place of more importance at that time, might well have thought it "dwindled from its former consequence."

This town or village is situated in a deep valley, not on the top of a high hill, as has been erroneously stated*, but rather on the side of a hill, nearer its base than its summit, facing to the south-east, and having above it the rocky eminence which we had passed over in approaching it. The valley in which it stands is round and concave, as Maundrell has described it, and is itself the hollow of a high range of hills; but I could perceive no long and narrow valley opening to the east, as mentioned by Dr. Clarke; nor does it indeed exist: the whole valley being shut in by steep and rugged hills on all sides. The Quarterly Reviewers were led by this misrepresentation to accuse D'Anville of having erroneously given it a different termination, and placed the city to the south-west of the hills which separate Galilee from the plains of Esdraelon. The fact is, that no such long and narrow valley is apparent in any direction, and that Nassara stands in the hollow of a cluster of hills, the north-western of which separate it from the

* Nazareth in montes erat vertice. Cluverius, l. v. c. 21. p. 369.

plain of Zabulon, and the south-western, from the plain of Esdraelon; while on the north-east are the lands of Galilee, and on the south-west those of Samaria.

The fixed inhabitants are estimated at about two thousand; five hundred of whom are catholic Christians, about three hundred Maronites, and two hundred Mohammedans; the rest being schismatic Greeks. These are all Arabs of the country, and, notwithstanding the small circle in which their opposing faiths meet, it is said, to their honour, that they live together in mutual forbearance and tranquillity.*

The private dwellings of the town, to the number of about two hundred and fifty, are built of stone, which is a material always at hand; they are flat-roofed, being in general only of one story, but are sufficiently spacious and commodious for the accommodation of a numerous poor family. The streets are steep, from the inclination of the hill on which they stand, narrow from custom, and dirty from the looseness of the soil.

Of the public buildings, the mosque is the most conspicuous from without, and it is indeed

* In the time of Volney, the friars here were the farmers of the country. He observes, that under the government of Daher, they were obliged to make a present to every wife he married; and he took care to marry almost every week. Volney's Travels, vol. ii. p. 229.

a neat edifice. It has five arches on one of its sides, for we could see no more of it, as it is enclosed within a wall of good masonry, and furnished with a plain whitened minareh, surrounded by a gallery, and surmounted by the crescent, the whole rising from the centre of the town, as if to announce the triumph of its dominion to those approaching it from afar.

The Greeks have their church on the south-east edge of the town, at the foot of the hill, and the Maronites theirs in front of the Franciscan convent. This last is one of the largest and most commodious that I remember to have seen in the Levant, being in every respect superior to those of Smyrna, of Alexandria, and of Cairo.

On entering its outer gate, we observed two antique shafts of red granite columns, now used as portals to the door-way. Within is a court, and, by the gate at its further end, the fragment of a shaft of another granite column lying on the ground. On each side, within the gate, is seen the basis of white pillars, which formed the portals of entrance to the original building destroyed by the Turks; and on the wall, both within and without, are worked into the masonry several pieces of the old ruins, containing delicate sculptures of friezes, cornices, capitals, &c.

This gate leads to a large-paved square, in

which are two wells, surmounted by the cross. On the right hand, is the hall for the reception of strangers and visitors, with a range of buildings continued on the same side; on the left, there are apartments for servants and porters, and the passage leading up to the convent itself; and opposite to the outer-entrance, on the other side of the square-court, is the wall of the church attached to it. The interior of the building is furnished with every convenience in staircases, galleries, and apartments.

Over the door of each small chamber I observed painted a number, and "*Ave Maria*," while over that of the Padre Guardiano's was written his title in addition. On the door of the chamber in which I slept was written "*Ave Maria purissima*," and immediately opposite to it, "*Hæc sunt necessaria*," in large Roman capitals.

The hall in which we supped was below. It was of a considerable size, furnished all round with benches and tables, each apparently for two persons. In the centre of one of the longest sides was an altar in a recess, with crosses, candles, &c.; and immediately opposite to it, on the other side, was a small folding-door, through which the dishes were received, warm as they were prepared, from the adjoining kitchen. The table-service was altogether of pewter; but every

thing was extremely clean, and the provisions excellent, particularly fine white bread, equal to any in Europe, and a wine of Mount Libanus, not inferior to the best wines of France.*

The six friars stationary here were all Spaniards, and chiefly from Majorca, Minorca, and Valencia. They did not appear to me to be either learned or well-informed; but they were, which is of more worth, frank, amiable, and obliging. Our reception among them was unaffectedly kind; and our stay was rendered agreeable by their bounty.

The church is built over a grotto, held sacred from a belief of its being the scene of the angel's announcing to Mary her favour with God, and her conception and bearing of the Saviour. On entering it, we passed over a white marble pavement, ornamented in the centre with a device in Mosaic; and descended by a flight of marble steps into a grotto beneath the body of the church. In the first compartment of this subterraneous sanctuary, we were told, had stood the mass which constitutes the famous chapel of Loretto, in Italy; and the friars assured us, with all possible solemnity,

* It seems to have been peculiar to the Nazarites to suffer their hair to grow long, and to abstain from the use of wine, on making a sacred vow. (Josephus, Ant. Jud. b. iv. c. 4. s. 4.) And the story of Dalilah and Samson, who was a Nazarite, is familiar to all.

that the angels appointed to the task took out this mass from the rock, and flew with it first to Dalmatia, and afterwards to Loretto, where it now stands; and that, on measuring the mass itself, and the place from which it had been taken, they had been found to correspond in every respect; neither the one by the voyage, nor the other by age, having lost or altered any part of its size or shape!

Proceeding farther in, we were shown a second grotto, or a continuation of the first, with two red granite pillars, of about two feet in diameter, at its entrance; and were told, that one marked the spot where the Virgin rested, the other where the angel stood when he appeared to Mary, exclaiming,—"Hail! thou that art highly favoured, the Lord is with thee; blessed art thou among women." * The pillar on the right is still perfect, but that on the left has a piece of its shaft broken out, leaving a space of about a foot and a half between the upper and under fragment. The latter of these continuing still to be supported by being firmly imbedded in the rock above, offers to the eyes of believing visitors, according to the expression of the friars, "A standing miracle of the care which Christ

* St. Luke, i. 28.

takes of his church;" as they insist upon its being supported by the hand of God alone. *

The grotto here, though small and about eight feet in height, remains still in its original roughness, the roof being slightly arched. In the outer compartment, from whence the chapel of Loretto is said to have been taken, the roof as

* The "Orthodox Traveller," as he is called, who has most recently furnished us with the details of his journey in the Holy Land, is almost angry with the poor friars of Nazareth for endeavouring to make others believe what they are themselves firmly persuaded of. He says, — "Pococke has proved that the tradition concerning the dwelling-place of the parents of Jesus Christ existed at a very early period, because the church built over it is mentioned by writers of the seventh century; and in being conducted to a cave rudely fashioned in the natural rock, there is nothing repugnant to the notions one is induced to entertain concerning the ancient customs of the country, and the history of the persons to whom allusion is made. But when the surreptitious aid of architectural pillars, with all the garniture of a Roman Catholic church, above, below, and on every side of it, have disguised its original simplicity, and we finally call to mind the insane reverie concerning the transmigration of the said habitation, in a less substantial form of brick and mortar, across the Mediterranean to Loretto in Italy, maintained upon authority very similar to that which identifies the authenticity of this relique, a disbelief of the *whole mummery* seems best suited to the feelings of Protestants." — Dr. Clarke's Travels, vol. ii. p. 434. In our strictures on the religion of others, the advice of our Saviour himself is worth consulting, (St. Matt. c. vii. v. 5.) if we would wish to avoid the imputation thrown on those whom he so deservedly reproves.

well as the sides have been reshaped, and plastered, and ornamented; so that the original dimensions no longer remain. Within, however, all is left in its first rude state, to perpetuate to future ages the interesting fact which it is thought to record.

Passing onward from hence, and ascending through narrow passages, over steps cut out of the rock, and turning a little to the right, we came to a chamber which the friars called, "*La Cucina della Santa Madona.*" They here showed us the chimney of the hearth on which Mary warmed the food for Jesus, while yet an helpless infant, and where she baked the cakes for her husband's supper, when he returned from the labours of the day. This was an apartment of the house, as they observed, in which the Son of God lived so many years in subjection to man; as it is believed by all that he was brought up from childhood to manhood in Nazareth.

The fact of Joseph and Mary having resided in this house, and used the very room in which we stood as their kitchen, has nothing at all of improbability in it; and as excavated dwellings, in the side of a steep hill like this, would be more secure, and even more comfortable than fabricated ones, it is quite as probable that this might have really been the residence of the holy family as of any other; since it is here, in the

midst of the Nazareth of Galilee, where Joseph and Mary are admitted to have dwelt, and the child Jesus to have been brought up.

The church erected over this sacred spot is large, and well furnished, with some few tolerable paintings, but still more gaudy ones. It has also a double flight of marble steps, and a gilt-iron rail-way leading up on each side of the grotto, which is left open and faces the entrance to the church, producing an impressive effect. Below, in the grotto itself, is an altar of white marble, very finely executed; and a painting of the Annunciation, of great merit, as far as could be judged in this obscure depth, except that its effect is lessened by a diadem of gold and precious stones on the head of the Virgin.

Among all the pictures, I observed a departure from costume and propriety, which could only be accounted for by religious zeal. Joseph the carpenter was arrayed in purple and scarlet; Mary, beautiful, and dressed in the richest robes. If the painters could have taken their models from among the same class of people at Nazareth now, they would perhaps have approached nearer to truth: as these are probably still very similar in person, complexion, and apparel, to those described in the history of those times. In Europe, remote from the scenes themselves, scriptural subjects may be treated in any way

that best displays the talent of the painter, but it is impossible to witness certain delineations of country and costume upon the spot where the scene itself is laid, without being forcibly impressed with their want of even general resemblance.

There is an organ which is played by one of the friars; an abundance of fonts, and altars, and candlesticks; a fine sacristy or dressing-room for the priests; and store-rooms for the moveables of the church, consisting of flags, tapers, silken curtains, silver crosses, incense pots, &c. exhibited only on festival days.

The synagogue in which Jesus read and expounded the prophet *Esais* on the sabbath, is shown here within the town; while the precipice from which the exasperated people would have hurled him, is pointed out at a place more than a mile distant to the southward, and on the other side of the vale. It is more probable, however, that the precipice which overlooks the town was really the scene of this outrage, as the evangelist says: "And all they in the synagogue, when they heard these things, were filled with wrath, and rose up, and thrust him out of the city, and led him unto the brow of the hill whereon their city was built, that they might cast him down headlong." *

* St. Luke, iv. 28, 29. Cluverius, l. v. c. 21. p. 369.

This Nazareth was once taken by an English prince during the Holy Wars, as we learn from the "Voyage of Prince Edward, the sonne of King Henry the Third, into Asia, in the yeere 1270," as preserved by Hakluyt. After describing a tempest and shipwreck on the coast of Sicilia, he says: "Then Prince Edward renouating his purpose, tooke shipping againe, and within fifteene days after Easter, arrived he at Acra, and went a-land, taking with him a thousand of the best souldiers and most expert, and taried there a whole month, refreshing both his men and horses, and that in this space he might learne and know the secrets of the land. After this he took with him sixe or seven thousand souldiers, and marched forwards twenty miles from Acra and took Nazareth, and those that he found there he slew, and afterwards returned againe to Acra. But their enemies following after them, thinking to have set upon them at some streit, or other advantage, were espied by the prince, and returning again upon them, gave a charge, and slew many of them, and the rest they put to flight." Hakluyt's Coll. vol. ii. p. 37. 4to. 1810.

Hugh, of Tabaria, one of the Christian heroes of the Crusades, and Gerrard his brother, the former of whom died of his wounds received in battle, and the latter from sickness and grief, were both honourably interred with great mourning and lamentation, in the city of Nazareth, as described in the account of "A Fleete of Englishmen, Danes, and Flemmings, who arrived at Joppa, in the Holy Land, the seventh yeere of Baldwine the Second, King of Hierusalem. Written in the beginning of the tenth booke of the Chronicle of Hierusalem, in the eighth yeere of Henry the First, of England." Hakl. Coll. vol. ii. p. 13.

CHAP. VI.

ASCENT OF MOUNT TABOR.

Being furnished with an armed guide by the friars of Nazareth to conduct us by the way proposed for our journey toward Jerusalem, we mounted, and took leave of them with a warm sense of their hospitality, their meekness, and the affability of their manners.

It was nine o'clock when we left the foot of the hill to cross the valley, passing by some wells there, and in less than half an hour we ascended the hills on the south-east, again observing that there was no outlet of a long valley in that direction, nor at all near it.

Having reached the summit of these rocky and barren eminences, we began at ten to descend on the other side of them, leaving on the left a small village called Shaayn. Arriving at their feet, we passed through a narrow defile, leading easterly between two steep hills; and again going up a rocky ascent, we reached its summit at eleven, having the high round eminence of Mount Tabor before us, rearing itself abruptly from the plain of Esdraelon.

In our approach to the foot of this mountain, while passing through a rocky bed covered with thickets, a large black wild boar rushed from them across our path, and so alarmed our mules, that one of the riders was thrown. Our guide discharged his musket, and a shout of pursuit was instantly set up ; when presently some dogs sprung barking from the bushes, and a cry of voices was heard, which grew louder and louder, until we saw before us about a dozen Arabs, each with his gun prepared to fire.

We mutually halted to regard each other, and not knowing whether this was an ambush lying in wait for us, or for the boar, we unslung our muskets for defence. We remained for some minutes in this hostile attitude, until one of our party accosted the band which had so suddenly appeared, and received such insolent answers as to induce us to look upon them rather as enemies than friends. As we kept together, however, and preserved a tone of firmness, this, added to the sight of our arms, induced them to retire murmuring ; and as we ascended on higher ground, we saw three or four low brown flat-roofed tents, in which they were apparently encamped ; but for what purpose we knew not, as there were no flocks in the neighbourhood, and they were accompanied only by the dogs which we had seen.

It was about noon when we reached the small village of Deborah, where we alighted to refresh, not suspecting that the treachery for which it is traditionally infamous both in holy* and profane† records, was still to be found here at so distant a period.

This village is said to retain the name of the famous prophetess and judge of Israel, who dwelt under the palm-tree of Deborah, between Ramah and Bethel, in Mount Ephraim, where the children of Israel came up to her for judgment, and is thought to be the same with Daberath, on the borders of the tribes of Issachar and Zabulon. ‡

After the celebrated destruction of the hosts of Sisera, on the plains of Esdraelon, at the foot of Mount Tabor, where this village now stands, it was on this spot, as tradition relates, that the tent of Jael, the wife of Heber the Kenite stood, when the defeated fugitive sought a refuge there.

* Judges, iv.

† There was a village called Dabaritta near to Esdraelon, and probably the present Daberah. Some young men of this place who kept guard in the Great Plain, laid wait for one Ptolemy, who was the steward of Agrippa and Bernice, and plundered him of all that he had with him, namely many costly garments, a number of silver vessels, and six hundred pieces of gold. Josephus de Bello, l. ii. c. 21. s. 3.

‡ Joshua, xix. 12.

We entered into this village, and, like the unfortunate Sisera, demanded only a little water to drink, for with every thing else our scrip was well provided. It was furnished to us, as we desired, with provender for our beasts, and the offer of all that the village possessed.

While the animals were feeding, I was desirous of ascending to the summit of Mount Tabor, for the enjoyment of the extensive view which it commands. Our guide from the convent offering to accompany me, we took with us a man from the village, who promised to facilitate our ascent by directing us to the easiest paths; and taking our arms with us, while my servant and the muleteer remained below to take care of the beasts, we all three set out together.

By forced exertions we reached the summit in about half an hour, having ascended on the north-west side, directly upward from the village, and through paths well worn by being frequently trodden, though here and there obstructed by the numerous trees and thickets which clothe its brow.

Arriving at the top, we found ourselves on an oval plain, of about a quarter of a mile in its greatest length, covered with a bed of fertile soil on the west, and having at its eastern end a mass of ruins, seemingly the vestiges of churches,

grottoes, strong walls, and fortifications, all decidedly of some antiquity, and a few appearing to be the works of a very remote age.

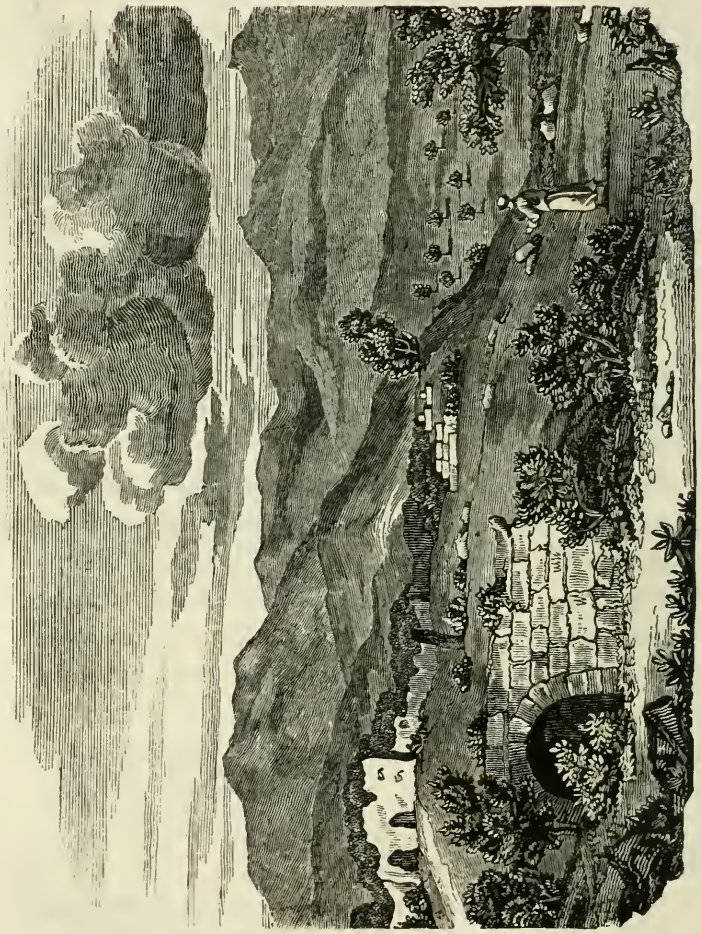
First were pointed out to us three grottoes, two beside each other, and not far from two cisterns of excellent water; which grottoes are said to be remains of the three tabernacles proposed to be erected by St. Peter, at the moment of the transfiguration, when Jesus, Elias, and Moses, were seen talking together.*

In one of these grottoes, which they call more particularly "the Sanctuary," there is a square stone used as an altar; and on the 6th of August, in every year, the friars of the convent come from Nazareth with their banners and the host to say mass here, at which period they are accompanied by all the Catholics of the neighbourhood, who pass the night in festivity, and light large bonfires, by a succession of which they have nearly bared the southern side of the mountain of all the wood that once clothed it.

Besides these grottoes, no particular history is assigned to any other of the remains, though among them there seem to have been many large religious buildings.

The whole of these appear to have been once enclosed with a strong wall, a large portion of

* St. Luke, ix. 30. 33.



GROTTO OF THE DISCIPLES ON THE SUMMIT OF MOUNT TABOR.

which still remains entire on the south side, having its firm foundations on the solid rocks; and this appeared to me the most ancient part. In the book of Judges, where the story of Deborah is related *, Barak is commanded to draw toward Mount Tabor; and afterwards it is said that he went *up* there with ten thousand men, accompanied by the prophetess.† Again, it is repeated that they who were encamped with Heber the Kenite in the plain of Zaanaim, showed Sisera that Barak, the son of Abinoam, was gone *up* to Mount Tabor.‡ And, lastly, it is said, that when Sisera gathered all his hosts together, with his nine hundred chariots of iron, to the river Kishon, Barak went *down* from Mount Tabor, and ten thousand men after him.‖ From this one might infer that the summit was even then used as a military post: for there is no other part of the mountain on which half the number could stand.§ It was even then, perhaps, walled and fortified as belonging to

* Judges, iv.

† Judges, c. iv. ver. 10. ‡ ver. 12. ‖ ver. 14.

§ The top of Mount Tabor was described to Dr. Clarke "as a plain of great extent, finely cultivated, and inhabited by numerous Arab tribes." Vol. ii. p. 484. This traveller must have had very inaccurate notions of Arab tribes to suppose, however, that many, or even one of them, could occupy so confined a range as this hill only.

Barak ; and as its natural position would always preserve its consequence, so these walls and fortifications would be strengthened by each new possessor.

The Scriptural references to Tabor or Itabyrius, may be found at length in Cellarius * ; and it is mentioned in all the pilgrimages to the Holy Land, as containing one of the sanctuaries usually visited in these pious journies. But Josephus furnishes us, in his details of the Jewish wars, with a remarkable instance of its having been resorted to as a place of security, and encompassed with a wall by himself in a short space of time, to resist the Roman army. " But now," says this historian, after describing the siege and capture of Gamala, " Vespasian went about another work independent of the former, during this siege ; and that was to subdue those that had seized upon Mount Tabor ; a place that lies in the middle between the great plain and Scythopolis, whose top is elevated to the height of thirty furlongs †, and

* Geographiæ Antiquæ, lib. iii. c. 13. p. 306. 4to.

† These numbers, in Josephus, of thirty furlongs' ascent to the top of Mount Tabor, says his commentator Whiston, whether we estimate it by winding and gradual or by the perpendicular altitude ; and of twenty-six furlongs' circumference upon the top ; as also the fifteen furlongs for this ascent in Polybius ; with Geminus's perpendicular altitude of

is hardly to be ascended on its north side. Its top is a plain of thirty-six furlongs, and all encompassed with a wall." Josephus erected this long wall in forty days' time, and furnished it with other materials, and with water from below: for the inhabitants only made use of rain-water. As, therefore, there was a great multitude of people gotten together upon this mountain, Vespasian sent Placidus with six hundred horsemen thither. Now, as it was im-

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almost fourteen forlongs, here noted by Dr. Hudson, do none of them agree with the authentic testimony of Mr. Maundrell, an eye-witness, p. 112, who says he was not an hour in getting up to the top of this Mount Tabor; and that the area of the top is an oval of about two furlongs in length, and one in breadth. So I rather suppose Josephus wrote three furlongs for the ascent or altitude, instead of thirty; and six furlongs for the circumference at top, instead of twenty-six. Since a mountain of only three furlongs' perpendicular altitude may easily require near an hour's ascent; and the circumference of an oval of the foregoing quantity is near six furlongs. Nor certainly could such a vast circumference as twenty-six furlongs, or three miles and a quarter, at that height be encompassed with a wall, including a trench and other fortifications, perhaps those still remaining, (*ibid.*) in the small interval of forty days, as Josephus here says they were by himself.

Polybius speaks of Atabyrium as a city, saying it was seated on a hill of a globular form whose height was more than fifteen stadia. Antiochus took it by stratagem, and secured its possession by leaving a garrison there before he marched against the cities on the east of the Jordan. Polyb. l. v. c. 6.

possible for him to ascend the mountain, he invited many of them to peace, by the offer of his right hand for their security, and of his intercession for them. Accordingly they came down, but with a treacherous design; as well as he had the like treacherous design upon them on the other side. For Placidus spoke mildly to them, aiming to take them, when he got them into the plain. They also came down, as complying with his proposals; but it was in order to fall upon him when he was not aware of it. However, Placidus's stratagem was too hard for theirs; for when the Jews began to fight, he pretended to run away; and when they were in pursuit of the Romans, he enticed them a great way along the plain, and there made his horsemen turn back. Whereupon he beat them, and slew a great number of them, and cut off the retreat of the rest of the multitude, and hindered their return. So they left Tabor, and fled to Jerusalem: while the people of the country came to terms with him. For their water failed them, and so they delivered up the mountain and themselves to Placidus. *

Traditions here speak of a city built on the top, which sustained a five years' siege, drawing

* Whiston's Josephus, Jewish War, book iv. c. 1. 8. Ibid. book ii. c. 20. 5., and Antiq. book xiv. c. 6. 4.

its supplies by skirmish from different parts of the fertile plains below, and being furnished with water from the two excellent cisterns still above; but as no fixed period is assigned to this event, it may probably relate to the siege of Vespasian just detailed.

Sufficient evidences remain, however, of its having been a place of great strength; and when it lost its character as a strong-hold, it assumed a new one of a holy sanctuary, so that the accumulated vestiges of successive forts and altars are now mingled in one common ruin.*

As there still remained the fragments of a wall on the south-east angle, somewhat higher than the rest, we ascended it over heaps of fallen buildings, and enjoyed from thence a prospect truly magnificent, wanting only the verdure of spring to make it beautiful as well as grand.

Placing my compass before me, we had on the north-west a view of the Mediterranean sea, whose blue surface filled up an open space left by a downward bend in the outline of the western hills; to the west-north-west a smaller portion of its waters were seen; and on the west

* Among the scattered fragments of stone, we noticed several blocks with Arabic characters on them in good relief, and evidently portions of some inscription; but none of these were sufficiently long to be intelligible, and the circumstances of the moment did not admit of our endeavouring to connect them.

again, the slender line of its distant horizon was just perceptible over the range of land near the sea-coast.

From the west to the south, the plain of Esdraelon extended over a vast space, being bounded on the south by the range of hills generally considered to be the Hermon, whose dews are poetically celebrated *, and having in the same direction, nearer the foot of Tabor, the springs of Ain-el-Sherrar, which send a perceptible stream through its centre, and form the brook Kison of antiquity. †

From the south-east to the east is the plain of Galilee, being almost a continuation of Esdraelon, and, like it, appearing to be highly cultivated, being now ploughed for seed throughout.

Beneath the range of this supposed Hermon, is seated Endor, famed for the witch who raised the ghost of Samuel, to the terror of the affrighted Saul ‡; and Nain, equally celebrated, as the place at which Jesus raised the only son of a widow from death to life, and restored him to his afflicted parent. §

The range which bounds the eastern view is thought to be the mountains of Gilboa, where the same Saul, setting an example of self-des-

* Psalm cxxxiii. 3.
† Psalm lxxxiii. 9.
‡ 1 Samuel, xxviii.
§ St. Luke, vii.

truction to his armour-bearer and his three sons, fell on his own sword, rather than fall wounded into the hands of the uncircumcised Philistines, by whom he was defeated. *

The sea of Tiberias, or the lake of Genasseret, famed as the scene of many miracles, is seen on the north-east filling the hollow of a deep valley, and contrasting its light blue waters with the dark brown shades of the barren hills by which it is hemmed around. Here too, the steep is pointed out, down which the herd of swine, who were possessed by the legion of devils, ran headlong into the sea. †

In the same direction, below, on the plain of Galilee and about an hour's distance from the foot of Mount Tabor, there is a cluster of buildings used as a bazar for cattle, frequented on Mondays only. Somewhat farther on is a rising ground, from which it is said, that Christ delivered the long and excellent discourse called the "Sermon on the Mount ‡," and the whole view in this quarter is bounded by the high range of Gebel-el-Telj, or the Mountain of Snow, whose summit was at this moment clothed with one white sheet without a perceptible breach or dark spot in it.

* 1 Samuel, xxxi.

† St. Luke, viii. 33.

‡ Matthew, v. vi. vii.

The city of Saphet, supposed to be the ancient Bethulia, a city said to be seen far and near, and thought to be alluded to in the apophthegm which says, "A city set on a hill cannot be hid*," is also pointed out in this direction; but though the day was clear, I could not distinguish it, its distance preventing its being defined from hence without a glass.

To the north were the stony hills over which we had journeyed hither, and these completed this truly grand and interesting panoramic view.†

* Matthew, ch. v. ver. 14.

† Maundrell's descriptions and details are in general so accurate, that it is, perhaps, a duty to point out wherein they may occasionally fail. The bearings taken of the surrounding objects in the present instance, will be found to differ considerably from those assigned by that traveller, and can establish their claim to greater accuracy only from being observed by a compass, and noted on the spot; whereas, it appears probable to me, that the whole of Maundrell's error was occasioned by some falsely assumed position of the sun in the heavens at the time of observation, as the errors are consistent in the whole. Thus Deborah, which is written westward, should be northward: Hermon, which is written eastward, should be southward, and the mountain of Gilboa, which is written southward, should be eastward.

The plate which accompanies the octavo edition of his Journey (1810), is altogether so unlike the scene it is intended to represent, that I am sure it could not have been taken on the spot, nor drawn even from memory.* In the first place, Nain and Endor are not distinguishable from hence, though their

* See Plate V. facing page 152 of the octavo volume.

In our descent from Mount Tabor, we entered a grotto in which there had formerly been a church, and had scarcely got within it before we heard the rushing of persons about the outer part of the passage by which we had entered.

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sites are pointed out. The supposed Hermon is a range of hills running for several miles nearly east and west, and forming the southern boundary of the plain of Esdraelon. The mountains of Gilboa are a distant range crossing those of Hermon almost at right angles, and running nearly north and south ; but not approaching near to the latter, since they are east of Jordan. The mountains of Samaria are on the west of all these, and nearer to the sea. The river Kishon has its springs near to the foot of Tabor, and winds considerably in its course. And the plain of Esdraelon, besides being of four or five times the extent there given by the perspective, is not bounded by steep cliffs rising thus abruptly from their base, but by a range of smooth and sloping hills. Lastly, the Mount of Tabor, instead of the slender and towering pyramid there represented *, is a rounded hill of the elevation of about one thousand feet, and of a semiglobular shape, being longer at the base in every direction than it is high, and having its outlines smooth, and every part of a rounded form, since from below nothing is seen of the small level space on its summit. It is the last to the eastward of a range of four hills of a similar kind, all less conspicuous than itself, and all having distinct passes between them, but neither of them so completely isolated as this of Tabor.

While analyzing this, the same observations may be repeated on the plate of Acre and Mount Carmel, which is, if possible, still wider from the truth ; while that of the cisterns of Solo-

* But for the bushes that are placed on the sides of this hill, it might be taken rather for the tower of Babel, as sometimes represented in our old Bibles, than for the Mount of Tabor, and the scene of the transfiguration on its summit, for a sacrifice by fire there.

On turning round to ascertain the cause of this noise, we observed five or six armed men, three of whom we recognised to be those who had made us such offers of their hospitality in the village of Deborah below. They called out to us, in a loud voice, that if we attempted the slightest resistance we should be murdered; but that, if we submitted to be quietly stripped, no violence should be offered to our persons. There was no time for a parley, though my companions at first cried for mercy; but as I rushed out with my musket cocked and presented, they instantly followed me, and an unexpected discharge drove our assailants to seek shelter behind the masses of rock near the cave. A regular skirmish

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mon at Ras-el-Ayn, examined like the rest upon the spot, appeared to me so totally unlike the thing it was intended to represent, that I forbore even to make a remark on it, and closed the book with a persuasion, that so accurate an observer as Maundrell could never even have seen those drawings, much less approved of their being attached to his Travels. The fact perhaps is, that some well-meaning friend, or some interested booksellers, subsequently caused these drawings to be composed from the printed descriptions and charts of the places they profess to represent, and thus embellished, as they thought, while they really disgraced the book. This is the more probable, as no name is given either of the painter or engraver. Such a practice, however, cannot be too severely reprehended; as these plates not only give false impressions, which are avowedly worse than none at all, but what is a far greater evil, they do injustice to the memory of the worthy man and excellent traveller, for whose productions they are tacitly made to pass.

now commenced, in which we kept up a retreating fire, and often exposed ourselves to their shot for the sake of getting to our mules at the foot of the hill. During a full hour of this kind of running fight, none of our own party was hurt. From the first, it seemed evident to us that we had been betrayed by our Deborah guide, and our notion was at length confirmed, by his going over to the assailing party and using his arms against us. Fortunately, and justly too, this man was himself wounded by a ball from my musket, and when he fell shrieking on the side of the hill, his companions hastened to his relief, while we profited by the alarm of the moment to continue our retreat, and rejoin our mules below.

Here we drew off at a short distance from the village of Deborah, and, with arms in our hands, being exhausted and fatigued, refreshed ourselves beneath a tree; but we had not yet remounted, when a large party, professing to be from the governor or sheikh of Deborah, a village consisting only of a few huts, came to sequester our beasts for what they called the public service. We treated this with a proper degree of warmth, and threatened death to the first that should dare to lay hands on any thing belonging to us; so that these brave villagers kept aloof.

My Nazarene guide, however, was so sickened by the obstacles which we had already met with, and alarmed at the prospect of new ones, that he declined to proceed any farther, and insisted on our return to Nazareth until more effectual measures could be taken for the safe prosecution of our journey.

In our return, we took what he considered to be a less dangerous route than that by which we had come out, and lying a little to the northward of it. On leaving the foot of Mount Tabor, we ascended rocky ground to the north; and in an hour afterwards, or about four o'clock, we passed close to the village of Ain-Hamil, on a hill. It was about five o'clock when we entered the village of Cana of Galilee*, which is seated on the brow of a hill, facing the west, and is hemmed in by a narrow valley.

It has a ruined catholic church, with a doorway towards the north, and two pillars built in the front wall, showing their ends outwards. Opposite to it is a small Greek church, all the Christians here being of that communion. There are from fifty to sixty houses only in the whole, and less than half the population are Mahommedan.

* Celebrated for the first of Christ's miracles, at a marriage-feast there, at which he was a guest. St. John, chap. ii. Cluverius, l. v. c. 21. p. 370.

Not a vestige of broken water-pots was now to be seen, as stated by some travellers, and thought by them to be a remarkable proof of the identity of the place where water was turned to wine.* We observed, however, an ancient sarcophagus near a well, at the foot of the road leading up to the village, having on its outer side, coarsely sculptured circles or globes, with drapery of festoons in relief. There is a large evergreen tree on the west of the town, and though the ground in the neighbourhood is stoney, it is partially cultivated.

Ascending and descending hills, we came at six o'clock to the village of Renny, similarly situated to that of Cana. We there observed, between two large wells, a sarcophagus exactly of the same description as that already mentioned, and like it used as a water-trough. We had a rocky road all the way from thence to Nazareth ; which we entered about eight o'clock, from the eastward, descending a hill so steep and rugged that our mules fell repeatedly, and at every fall satisfied us that there was no long valley in that direction, as had been critically maintained.

* Dr. Clarke and the Quarterly Reviewers.

CHAP. VII.

MOUNT CARMEL, DORA, AND CÆSAREA.

January 13th. Being obliged to return to the sea-coast, we left Nazareth at nine o'clock, and passed many caves in the rock to the southward of the town. These were no doubt formerly the habitations of the Nazarenes, like the grotto of Mary and Joseph; as, even now, several of them serve as dwellings. * When on the hill above the town, we gave this scene a last survey, but still saw no valley opening in any direction from its hollow basin.

At half past nine we first opened a small round vale on the left or west, in which stood the little village of Yaffa, with a few date-trees; and a little further on, in the same direction, was the small village of Samoeeah, on a hill, with the plain of Esdraelon beyond it.

* Josephus, in his account of Herod's actions, says, "And he passed on to Sephoris through a very deep snow, while Antigonus's garrisons withdrew themselves, and had great plenty of provisions. He also went thence and resolved to destroy those robbers that dwelt in the caves, and did much mischief in the country. So he sent a troop of horsemen, and three companies of armed footmen against them. They were very near to a village called Arbela." Ant. l. xiv. c. 15. 4.

Descending a rocky hill, we came, at half past ten, to the village of Ghierbee. This is also on a hill, with wells at the foot of it, and caves near them, hewn beneath a steep cliff.

At eleven we entered the plain of Esdraelon, and continued over it until twelve, when we ascended a gentle hill, passed a deserted village, and entered on a second plain, leaving on a hill, about a mile on the left, a village, the name of which we could not learn.

From hence we ascended again, and coming in sight of the bay of Accha, entered at one o'clock on the extensive plain which leads from hence southerly to the sea, on the north, and from the foot of the range of Mount Carmel westerly till it joins the plain of Zabulon on the east. Between the hills over which we came down upon it and the range of Carmel, is a pass coming out from the plain of Esdraelon, through which the river Kishon finds its way. We soon crossed the bed of this river, now dry from the failure of the winter rains: it is called here Nahr-el-Mukutta, and winding its course through the plain, it discharges itself into the sea near Caypha. * On the left we had the small village

* Pliny describes the river Belus as coming out of the lake Cendevia, at the foot of Carmel, (Nat. Hist. b. v. c. 19.); but, as we have seen before, Belus was nearer to Ptolemais, and he must have confounded this stream with the Kishon.

of Sheikh Ibrahik, and a little further on we passed between Arbay * on a hill to the right, and Yajoor, under Carmel, to the left.

We again forded the river under that range, and at three reached the village of Belled-el-Sheikh, where we drank at a well from the pitcher of some handsome Syrian women, and observed again some boys playing at cricket. We saw the river Kishon now full and winding; and at four, continuing still along the foot of Carmel, reached Caypha, where we were kindly received by Padre Julio, of Malta, a carmelite friar. In his poor habitation we enjoyed a frugal supper and slept in the church, which was a small room not more than fifteen feet by eight, containing an humble altar and a profusion of gaudy ornaments surrounding an ill-executed picture of the Virgin.

14th. We arose early, and walked around the town of Caypha. It is walled and badly fortified, having two gates opening to the north and south, with only six cannon mounted on the ramparts. It was also entirely without guards, as the troops had all departed for Damascus. The population was estimated at about a thousand souls, and these chiefly Mohammedan, the rest being made up of Catholic and Maronite

* Probably the Arbela mentioned in the preceding note.

Christians, and Druses. The women of this last class here wear a horn pointing backwards from the crown of their heads, which distinguishes them from those of the other sects of religion, as well as from the Druses of Mount Lebanon, who wear a similar horn pointing forwards.

There are two mosques, one of which was formerly a Christian church; besides the small chapel for the Catholics and Maronites, who both attend worship together in the room in which I had slept on the preceding night; and all parties are said to live in harmony.

Caypha is thought to be the old Calamon, which in the Jerusalem itinerary is placed at twelve miles from Ptolemais *; and Sycaminos, which is only three miles from this in the way to Jerusalem, is placed by Ptolemy in the same latitude as Mount Carmel.† This is to be distinguished, however, from the Calamos, in Phœnicia, of Strabo and Pliny; as Polybius furnishes us with details which fix the site of that place on the northern coast of Syria, between Ladikea and Bairoot.‡ Caypha is said to de-

* Pococke's Description of the East, vol. i. p. 55.

† Cellarius, Geog. Antiq. lib. iii. c. 13. p. 309.

‡ "Antiochus arriving now at Marathos, was met there by the people of Aradus. He then entered Syria along the mountain called Theoprosopor, and came to Berytus; having taken Botrys in his march, and set fire to Calamus and Triers." Polybius, l. v. c. 6. s. 10.

rive its present name from "Hepha" or "Kepha," expressive of the rocky ground on which it is built. It is called Cayphos in the old histories of the crusaders *, the name which it still retains.

Quitting Caypha at seven o'clock, and walking along the plain between the eastern foot of Carmel and the bay, through thickly-planted olive-trees and cultivated ground, we ascended to the summit of the mountain, while the mules went round the common path-way encompassing the promontory by the sea-shore.

The view of the bay of Accho from this point gave it a much rounder form than it assumes in most of our maps; and the distances prove it to be really so, as Caypha is distant from Accho just three leagues in a straight line, and it is a three hours' walk only, or from nine to twelve miles around the beach from one of these places to the other.

We visited here the monastery which stands on the summit of Mount Carmel, near the spot where Elias offered up his sacrifice†, and which gave rise to, and remained for a long period the head-quarters of the order of Carmelite friars. It appears

* Hakluyt's Collection, vol. ii. p. 47. 4to.

† See the account of this sacrifice, and the destruction of the priests of Baal, who were slaughtered at the brook Kishon, in the first book of Kings, chap. xviii. v. 17. *et seq.*

never to have been a fine building; but it is now entirely abandoned, and the monk who has charge of it lives in the town of Caypha below. During the campaign of the French in Syria, this monastery was made a hospital for their sick, for which its retired and healthy situation, as well as its interior structure, admirably adapted it. It has been subsequently ravaged by the Turks, and has had its altars stripped, and its roof beaten in; though there still remains, for the view of devout visitors, a small stone altar in a grotto dedicated to St. Elias, over which is a coarse painting representing the prophet leaning on a wheel, with fire and other symbols of sacrifice near. The priest, who was our guide thus far, commented as usual on the event it was intended to commemorate; yet, though seven years a resident here, and brought up from his infancy as a member of the Carmelite order, he could not refer us either to the book or the age of the Scriptures in which this sacrifice of Elias was recorded; but seemed to tell his tale as much by rote as any of the guides who show the tombs of our heroic ancestors in Westminster Abbey.

In our search after the city said to have stood formerly on Mount Carmel, and to have been called the Syrian Ecbatana*, in contradistinction

* Plin. Nat. Hist. l. v. c. 19.—Strabo, Geog. l. xvi. p. 758, 759.

to the Median capital of that name, we recognised few vestiges, except a fine large column of grey granite lying near the monastery, and another that had been rolled down from the brow of the hill on the east, of similar size and material. These we thought might have been portions of some large and magnificent building belonging to that city. As the Carmelite never troubled himself with traditions that were not purely scriptural, we could not learn from him that any existed here regarding the city of Ecbatana or the death of Cambyses in it, after his conquest of Egypt.* In the note on the passage of Herodotus which relates this event, Mr. Beloe says, "Batanea in Palestine marks the place of this Syrian Ecbatana," and refers to D'Anville as his authority. The French geographer places this, however, much farther eastward in his writings; though a town called Batanea is laid down on the range of Carmel in the map. "Batanea," he says, "is another country which covers the north of Galaaditis, and its name is preserved in that of Batinia, as we find

* See this story in Herodotus, Thalia, lxiv., where it is very aptly coupled in the notes with a similar fiction of a prophecy in our own history, when it was predicted that Henry IV. should die in Jerusalem; and this was fulfilled by his expiring in the Jerusalem chamber at Westminster, as Cambyses was warned of dying in Ecbatana, (in Media as he supposed,) and expired at this Ecbatana of Syria.

in the oriental geographers. This is the country, conquered by the people of Israel, under Og, king of Basan, to whose territories was contiguous in Galaad what Sihon, king of the Amorites, possessed; and there is reason to believe that of the primitive Basan was afterwards formed the name of Batanea. Its district appears to be separated from the Tiberiad lake by a margin of land called Gaulanitis, from Golan or Gaulon, the name of a strong fortress distinctly indicated in the oriental geography, under the name of Agheloun or Adgeloun.* The country of Batanea is therefore in the valley of Jordan, where Beisan, probably the original Basan, is situated, at the western edge of the mountains of Adjeloon, and south of the lake of Tiberias, consequently, very distant from this; nor could I learn any thing of a place now called Batanea at all in this neighbourhood.

That Batanea was the name of a district rather than a town, and perfectly distinct from Ecbatana, may be seen also in Josephus. In the details of the conduct of Varus against Agrippa, in the history of his own life, this writer says, "He moreover slew many of the Jews, to gratify the Syrians of Cæsarea. He had a mind also to join with the Trachonites in Batanea,

* Compendium of Ancient Geography, p. 419.

and to take arms, and make an assault upon the Babylonian Jews that were at Ecbatana, for that was the name they went by. He therefore called to him twelve of the Jews of Cæsarea, of the best character, and ordered them to go to Ecbatana." * This Syrian Ecbatana is positively stated to have been on Mount Carmel †, and is likely therefore to have been on this point of it where the ruins are, and where its situation would have been so advantageous in many points of view.

On the edge of the bay below, and a little to the northward of Caypha, were pointed out to us the ruins of Porphyrion. It has been thought by some that the name of Porphureon was given to Caypha, from the purple fish found on this coast, with which they made the Tyrian dye. ‡ But besides that, Caypha and Porphyrion are distinct places, separated by a distance of at least two miles; the latter is spoken of by Polybius, in his history of the war in Asia, between

* Life of Josephus, vol. i. § 11. p. 9. 8vo.

† Oppidum in Carmelo monte, quod Plinius memoravit, eodem auctore Ecbatana fuit dictum. In hoc Oppido, Cambyses rex Persarum mortuus est, cui oraculum Ecbatana fatalem locum prædixerat, quem ille de urbe Mediæ intellexit; oraculum autem de Ecbatanis Syriæ loquebatur, ut Herodotus tradidit, lib. 3. cap. 64." — Cellarius. Geog. Antiq. lib. 3. cap. 13.

‡ Pococke, vol. ii. p. 56. folio. D'Anville, p. 411. 8vo.

Antiochus and Ptolemy, for the sovereignty of Cœle-Syria. Antiochus, being at Seleucia, drew together all his forces, designing to attack Cœle-Syria both by land and sea. At the same time Ptolemy, who was in Egypt, sent large supplies of stores to Gaza, and ordered his fleet to advance, together with a large army. The fleet was composed of thirty decked vessels, with more than four hundred ships of transport. He sent away a part of his army to possess themselves of the defiles of Platanus; while himself, encamping with the rest near Porphyrion, resolved, with the assistance of the fleet which was stationed near him, to oppose on that side the entrance of the king. * No situation could it be more requisite to guard than this, as the bay of Acre offers the best place of operation for a fleet on the whole coast of Syria, and the road of Caypha, opposite to Porphyrion, is still the safest anchorage to be found there: so that, while a detachment of his army under the Etolian general Nicolaus, guarded the defiles of Platanus on the north, his fleet and the remainder of his troops would effectually secure the country from invasion on the south.

We ascended to the highest summit of the monastery, on which a flag-staff was planted, and took from thence the bearings of surrounding

* Polybius, book v. chap. 6. § 9.

objects, to assist in the rectification of the map * ; at the same time that we enjoyed an extensive and delightful prospect.

We could now perceive that Mount Carmel was a range of hills, extending six or eight miles nearly north and south, coming from the plain of Esdraelon, and ending in the promontory or cape which forms the bay of Accho. It is of a whitish stone, with flints imbedded in it. It has, on the east, the fine plain described on entering Caypha, watered by the river Kishon ; and, on the west, a narrower plain, descending to the sea. Its greatest height does not exceed fifteen hundred feet. †

* Bearings taken from Mount Carmel.

		miles.
Ruins of Athlete, on the sea-coast,	S. S. W. $\frac{1}{4}$ W.	9
Village of Tartoura, do. - -	S. S. W.	20
A deep bay or indentation of the shore,	S. by W. $\frac{1}{2}$ W.	25
Ras-el-Zib, a high bluff cape, -	N. E. $\frac{1}{4}$ N.	15
Town of Acre or Accho, its centre, -	N. E. $\frac{1}{2}$ E.	12‡
Summit of Gebel-el-Telj or Gebel-el-Sheikh, - - -	N. E. by E. $\frac{1}{2}$ E.	50
Ruined town of Porphyrion, - -	E. N. E.	1
A brig at anchor in Caypha roads,	E. by S, $\frac{1}{2}$ S.	3
Southern extreme of the bay of Accho, and the mouth of Kishon, - -	S. E. $\frac{1}{2}$ E.	4
Town of Caypha, its centre, - -	S. E. by E.	3
Village of Shufammer, on the hills, -	E. $\frac{1}{4}$ S.	17
Deepest part of the bay of Accho, -	East,	4

† Caypha seems to be the place meant by Benjamin of Tudela, when he speaks of Niphas, which he places at the distance of three leagues from Accho, Akadi, or Ghaco, and says it was then called *Gad Proper*, to distinguish it from Cæsarea.

‡ Called 120 stadia by Josephus. De Bello Jud. lib. xi. c. 17.

Leaving the monastery, we descended the hill on the north side, passing several inconsiderable grottoes in the way, all small and rude; as well as the ruins of a convent partly excavated in the hills, with a cistern of good water near. Below, on the north-east side we came to a sort of caravansera, built before a fine cave, facing to the N. N. E. Into this we entered, and found it to be a well-hewn chamber, cut entirely out of the rock, and squared with great care; being twenty paces long, twelve broad, and from fifteen to eighteen feet high. It has a cell on the left, on entering, nearly in the centre of its eastern side, large, but roughly hewn; and around the south end, and west side, runs a low bench of stone. A kind of altar, in a high recess, stands at its further end, immediately opposite to the door of entrance, before which there were, at this moment, a curtain and a lamp. Beneath were mats and carpets, for the accommodation of visitors. It thus forms a comfortable halt for travellers, as it affords shelter and shade, and has a cistern of excellent water, a place for horses, and a coffee-house adjoining. It is called the "School of Elias," from a notion that the prophet taught his disciples there. It was formerly in Christian hands, but it is now taken care of by Mohammedans, who have built all these convenient establishments about it. On the

walls several Greek inscriptions appeared, which we had not time to copy; and we saw also, among a multitude of visitors' names, some written recently in Hebrew characters, by Jews from Accho*; this place being held in equal esteem by Jews, Mohammedans, and Christians. It has been already observed that at Ecbatana there were Jews who were peculiarly distinguished as Babylonians by Josephus, when he describes the expedition of Varus against the Jews of Ecbatana†; and D'Anville has observed, that the respect of the Jews for this mountain was communicated also to the Pagans‡; which will account for the inscriptions of visitors in Hebrew, Greek, Roman, and Arabic characters.

In all, we saw about twenty small grottoes, but were told that amid the ruins of Porphyrion, which lie on the plain, within a few yards, many more were to be seen, which the pressure of our haste did not allow us to visit. This Porphyrion

* Benjamin mentions, in his time, several Jewish sepulchres at the foot of Carmel, and the cave of the prophet Elias, with a chapel built above it by the Christians. He says also, that part of the altar remained which was burnt and destroyed in the time of Achab, of which mention is made in the history of Elias, and observed that the torrent of Chison descended near the mountain.

† Life of Josephus, vol. i. § 11. p. 9. 8vo.

‡ Compendium of Ancient Geography, vol. i. p. 411.

is said to have been built by St. Louis, during the crusades, though probably it was only fortified by him. It has nothing remaining but a small tower near the sea, and the foundations of ruined dwellings. The plain on which it was situated is extremely fertile, and the modern Caypha is said to have been built from its ruins.

At nine o'clock we mounted our mules, at the point of the promontory of Carmel; and taking leave of Padre Julio, continued our way southward along the sea-coast. Here the plain being covered with bushes, we met a party of soldiers in chace of a large black wild-boar, which still fled from the horsemen, although wounded and streaming with blood. We saw here, also, large king vultures, with the feathered ring around their necks, and from four to five feet high.

At ten we had come on a cultivated plain*, and had the small village of Etieery on our left, at the foot of the range of Carmel. From this point we saw the ruined walls and arches of Athlete†, which we could not enter at that

* Carmelus, Mons Hebraicè Carmel, mons insignis, fertilis in pascuis, fructibus et herbis, ferax vini delicatissimi.—Adrichom. Theat. Terr. Sanc. p. 45.

† This is called Castel Pellegrino in all the old itineraries of the Holy Land, as may be seen in Hakluyt. In the middle ages it is said to have been called Petra Incisa, probably from its situation on an insulated rock. Its present name of Athlete is thought to have been given it by the Greeks, to express its strength.

moment, though I passed it with considerable reluctance, more particularly as Pococke's description of it as "a place so magnificent and so finely built as to be one of the things best worth seeing in these parts," had led me to expect much gratification from the inspection of its remains.

From hence we crossed behind a range of low sandy hills, near the sea, showing rocky fragments in several parts, and at one o'clock we entered a passage cut out of a bed of rock, called "Waad-el-Ajal." * There were appearances of a gate having once closed it, as places for hinges were still seen; and, while the centre was just broad enough for the passage of a wheeled carriage or a laden camel, there were, on each side, raised causeways, hewn down out of the rock, as if for benches of repose, or for foot passengers. This passage, which was very short, brought us out almost opposite to Athlete, which stands near the sea, and presents from hence the appearance of very massive ruins, in arches, walls, &c.

Turning again to the south, and continuing along the western side of this bed of rock, through which the passage was cut, we saw ex-

* This name of Waad-el-Ajal signifies literally "The Valley of Death," from وادَ or وادي a valley, and اجل death, fate, destiny.

cavated chambers, square places hewn down, others partly decayed, and partly broken by force; the whole presenting the appearance of former habitations cut out of the rock, and showing marks of greater antiquity than any thing we had yet seen in our journey.

At half-past two we reached the well of Terfoon, so called from a village of that name on the range of rock described. This well was sunk through its solid bed, and further on were other small villages on its summit; the whole way, for nearly two hours, showing marks of ancient excavated dwellings, cisterns, square open spaces, &c.

At three we entered a wide pass, on each side of which were grottoes and caverns; and alighting here to examine those on the left, we found grottoes entered by arched doors, having benches of stone within, with cisterns of water near them, and little flights of steps leading from one to the other, like the smaller caves of Kenneri in the island of Salsette, which they resembled in many particulars. We found four of these extremely well designed, having concave recesses in the interior walls, and showing marks of great care in their execution. They were all small and low; and though hewn out of the solid rock, many were now destroyed, by the breaking down and falling in of the rock itself, from

mere age and decay. The whole of these caves, from Waad-el-Ajal to this place, were, no doubt, habitations of the ancient Canaanites, some of their strong-holds near the sea, from which the children of Israel could not dislodge them. They presented altogether an appearance of the highest antiquity.

At four we entered Tartoura, a small village, consisting of not more than forty or fifty dwellings, without a mosque, but having a khan for the accommodation of travellers; and a small port formed by a range of rocky islets at a short distance from the sandy beach. It has a ruined building on the north, which Father Julio, at Mount Carmel, told us was called by Franks the "Accursed Tower;" but he could assign no reason for such a forbidding name. It has no such appellation in Arabic, being called merely "Khallat-el-Ateek," or the "Old Castle."

This is conceived, with great probability, to be the Dor of the Scriptures, first mentioned in the Book of Joshua, among the towns which Manasseh had in Issachar and in Asher *; and next in the book of Judges, where it is similarly enumerated among the towns from which this same tribe of Manasseh could not drive out the inhabitants, but were obliged to let them remain

* Joshua, xvii. 11.

as tributaries in the land. * It is spoken of as one of the kingdoms on the borders of the coast, on the west, and its king is enumerated among those conquered sovereigns of the Canaanites, whom Joshua and the children of Israel smote, and whose lands they disposed of among themselves. † It was afterwards governed by one of the twelve princes of Solomon, who is called the son of Abinidab, and is said to have had Taphath the daughter of Solomon to wife. ‡

By Josephus it is called Dora, and it is first mentioned in speaking of the division of the land after Joshua's overthrow of the kings of Canaan. The Danites' lot included all that part of the valley which respects the sun-setting, and was bounded by Azotus and Dora. § In the history of his own life, it is mentioned as a city of Phœnicia ‖; and, in his account of the Jewish war, it is spoken of as besieged by Simon, the priest and prince of the Jews, who was an auxiliary of Antiochus, when Trypho had taken refuge within its fortress. ¶ The particulars of this siege are detailed more fully in the history of the Maccabees. "In the hundred three-score and fourteenth year, went Antiochus

* Judges, i. 27.
† Joshua, xi. 2.; xii. 23.
‡ 1 Kings, iv. 11.
§ Ant. Jud. l. v. c. 1. s. 22.
‖ Life of Josephus, s. 8.
¶ Jewish Wars, l. i. c. 2. s. 2.

into the land of his fathers: at which time all the forces came together unto him, so that few were left with Tryphon. Wherefore, being pursued by King Antiochus, he fled unto Dora, which lieth by the sea-side; for he saw that troubles came upon him all at once, and that his forces had forsaken him. Then camped Antiochus against Dora, having with him an hundred and twenty thousand men of war, and eight thousand horsemen. And when he had compassed the city round about, and joined ships close to the town on the sea-side, he vexed the city by land and by sea, neither suffered he any to go out or in. So Antiochus the king camped against Dora the second day, assaulting it continually, and making engines, by which means he shut up Tryphon, that he could neither go out nor in. In the mean time fled Tryphon, by ship unto Orthosias." *

These details serve to fix beyond doubt that Dora was seated on the sea-shore, as well as that it was on a peninsula nearly surrounded by water, which corresponds with the appearance of the neck of land on which the castle now remaining is situated.

In the time of Pompey, it is enumerated among

* 1 Maccabees, xv. 10—37.

the maritime cities which he freed from the dominion of the Cœle-Syrians, when he reduced Judea within its proper bounds *; and about five years afterwards, it is numbered among the cities that were restored by Gabinius. "At which time were rebuilt Samaria, Ashdod, Scythopolis, Anthedon, Raphia, and Dora; Marissa also, and Gaza; and not a few others besides. And as the men acted according to Gabinius's command, it came to pass, that at this time these cities were securely inhabited; which had been desolate for a long time." †

In its present condition, it is so far fallen from its former consequence as scarcely to present by its ruins an idea of its extent or strength, in its original state, though it is not entirely desolate. Its present inhabitants, perhaps five hundred in number, are all Mohammedan, and are governed by a sheikh, who received us at the khan, and bade us enter. This building resembled the cottage in which we had remained a night at the village of Musshoor, before entering Accho; being divided into four compartments by three arcades, and having its flat roof covered by boughs of trees plastered over on the top. We

* Josephus, Jewish War, l. i. c. 7. s. 7.
† Josephus, Ant. Jud. l. xiv. c. 5. s. 3.

found a clean mat, and shelter for ourselves and our beasts ; and the man in attendance furnished us with fire-wood, which was all we needed, as we had rice and bread with us.

During supper we were joined by Two Turkish soldiers, halting here, from Jaffa, and were visited in turn by the elders of the village, each of them demanding from whence we came, whither we were going, and what was the object of our journey. They enquired eagerly after Bonaparte, whom they all knew ; and desired to know when there would be rain, for the want of which their tillage had been long retarded. We continued thus occupied until about nine o'clock, when we were suffered to repose in tranquillity.

15th. Having slept soundly after our fatigue, we found, on awaking and preparing to depart, that all our remaining provisions had been stolen from our basket during the night, though it lay close to my servant's head. We had a long journey before us, and no time to be lost : we, therefore, set out unprovided, leaving Tartoura about five, by the light of a full moon ; and, continuing along the sea-shore, passed, in half an hour, a small rocky islet, very similar to those which form the port of the village itself.

At half-past six we forded a narrow inlet of the sea, which we did not conceive to be the

river of Cæsarea, spoken of by Pococke as having crocodiles in it; but rather the Chorsoes of Ptolemy, which he places four miles south of Dora, to which this accurately corresponds; and being now on a beach covered with small shells, we came, at half-past seven, to the ruins of the ancient Cæsarea, still called by the Arabs Kissary.

Notwithstanding the almost utter demolition of this celebrated city, abandoned long since to silent desolation, it was impossible not to feel the strongest curiosity regarding its topography, and to desire to examine minutely every stone and fragment of the ruins of so much magnificence as had once adorned its *site. Though a city of but secondary importance in the Jewish annals, there are few others of whose origin we have more ample, or perhaps more accurate details than is given of this by the great historian of that people.

The devotion of Herod to Cæsar was such, that, as this writer observes, "To say all at once, there was not any place of his kingdom fit for the purpose, that was permitted to be without somewhat that was for Cæsar's honour. For when he had filled his own country with temples, he

* Cæsarea illa incredibili magnificentia ab Herode aucta est. Cluverius, l. v. c. 21. p. 369.

poured out the like plentiful marks of esteem into his province, and built many cities, which he called Cæsareas." * In another place the same historian says, after describing the extravagant manner in which Herod built cities and erected temples close upon the boundaries of Judea, since it would not have been borne within the limits of that holy land itself, the Jews being forbidden to pay any honour to images or representations of animals after the manner of the Greeks; "The apology which Herod made to the Jews for these things was this; that all was done, not out of his own inclinations, but by the commands and injunctions of others, in order to please Cæsar and the Romans; as though he had not the Jewish customs so much in his eye, as he had the honour of those Romans; while yet he had himself entirely in view all the while, being very ambitious to leave great monuments of his government to posterity."†

Be the motive what it might, the execution of the work was worthy of a royal hand, and displayed at once, by the rapidity with which it was completed, the extent of his resources, and the popularity of the task with those to whom it was committed. The details of this work are suffi-

* Josephus, Wars of the Jews, l. i. c. 21. s. 1.
† Josephus, Antiq. Jud. l. xv. c. 9. s. 5.

ciently interesting to be repeated here, more particularly as they cannot fail to illustrate or be illustrated by local description. The historian of Herod says, "Now, upon his observation of a place near the sea, which was very proper for containing a city, and was before called Strato's Tower, he set about getting a plan for a magnificent city there, and erected many edifices with great diligence all over it of white stone. He also adorned it with most sumptuous palaces, and large edifices for containing the people; and what was the greatest and most laborious work of all, he adorned it with an haven, that was always free from the waves of the sea. Its largeness was not less than the Pyreæum at Athens, and had towards the city a double station for the ships. It was of excellent workmanship, which was the more remarkable, being built in a place that of itself was not suitable to such noble structures, but was perfected by materials from other places at very great expenses. This city is situate in Phœnicia *, in the passage by sea to

* Ammianus Marcellinus reckons it, however, in Palestine, which is more accurate. "La Palestine est la dernière des Syries; elle est d'une vaste etendue, abond en terres cultivés et agréables, et renferment, quelques villes egalement belles, et qui semblent disputer de rivalité. Telles sont Cæsarei qu' Herode batit en l'honneur d'Octavien, Eleutheropolis, Neapolis, Ascalon, Gaza, toutes construits dans les siecles passés." v. i.

Egypt, between Joppa and Dora, which are lesser maritime cities, and not fit for havens, on account of the impetuous south winds that beat upon them, which, rolling the sands that come from the sea against the shores, do not admit of ships lying in their station; hence the merchants are generally there forced to ride at their anchors in the sea itself. So Herod endeavoured to rectify this inconvenience, and laid out such a compass towards the land, as might be sufficient for an haven, wherein the great ships might lie in safety. And this he effected by letting down vast stones of above fifty feet in length, not less than eighteen in breadth, and nine in depth, into twenty fathom deep; and as some were lesser, so were others bigger than those dimensions. This mole which he built by the sea-side, was two hundred feet wide; the half of which was opposed to the current of the waves, so as to keep off those waves which were to break upon them, and so was called Procymatia, or the first breaker of the waves; but the other half had upon it a wall, with several towers, the

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l. iv. c. 18. p. 57. Lyon, 12mo. 1778. Instead of the indefinite phrase of "vaste etendue," Pliny calls the length of Palestine 180 miles from the confines of Arabia on the south, to where it meets the borders of Phœnicia on the north. Nat. Hist. b. v. c. 13.

largest of which was named Drusus, and was a work of very great excellence, and had its name from Drusus, the son-in-law of Cæsar, who died young. There were also a great number of arches, where the mariners dwelt. There was also before them a quay, or landing-place, which ran round the entire haven, and was a most agreeable walk to such as had a mind to that exercise. But the entrance or mouth of the port was made on the north quarter, on which side was the stillest of the winds of all in this place. And the basis of the whole circuit on the left hand, as you enter the port, supported a round turret, made very strong to resist the greatest waves; while, on the right hand, as you enter, stood upright two vast stones joined together, and those each of them larger than the turret, which was over against them. Now there were edifices all along the circular haven, made of the most polished stone, with a certain elevation, whereon was erected a temple that was seen a great way off by those that were sailing for that haven, and had in it two statues, the one of Rome, the other of Cæsar. The city itself was called Cæsarea, and was also built of fine materials, and was of a fine structure. Nay, the very subterranean vaults and cellars had no less of architecture bestowed on them, than had the buildings above ground. Some of these vaults

carried things at even distances to the haven and to the sea; but one of them ran obliquely, and bound all the rest together, that both the rain and the filth of the citizens were together carried off with ease, and the sea itself, upon the flux of the tide from without, came into the city and washed it all clean. Herod also built thereon a theatre of stone, and on the south quarter, behind the port, an amphitheatre also, capable of holding a vast number of men, and conveniently situated for a prospect to the sea. This city was thus finished in twelve years, at the sole expense of Herod." *

It was about the twenty-second year before the Christian era that this city was begun, and in the tenth year before the same period that it was completed, though there is a difference of two years in the time assigned to its building by the same author. After saying, as we have seen, that it was finished in twelve years, at the sole expense of Herod, he says in another place, "About this time it was that Cæsarea Augusta, which Herod had built, was finished in the tenth year, the solemnity of its falling into the twenty-eighth year of Herod's reign, and into the hundred and ninety-second Olympiad. †

"It was during the building of this city that

* Josephus, Antiq. l. xv. c. 9. s. 6.
† Ibid. l. xvi. c. 5. s. 1.

Herod himself went to meet Marcus Agrippa, who had sailed from Italy into Asia, and brought him into Judea, where he omitted nothing that might please him. He entertained him in his new-built cities, and provided all sorts of the best and most costly dainties for him and his friends at Sebaste and Cæsarea, about that port that he had built, and at the fortresses which he had erected at great expenses, Alexandrium and Herodium, and Hyrcania."*

To show the importance that was attached to the completion of this maritime city and its port, as a work of more than ordinary magnificence, the same author adds, "There was accordingly a great festival, and most sumptuous preparations made to its dedication. For he had appointed a contention in music and games to be performed naked. He had also gotten ready a great number of those that fight single combats, and of beasts for the like purpose. Horse races also, and the most chargeable of such sports and shows as used to be exhibited at Rome and in other places. He consecrated this combat to Cæsar, and ordered it to be celebrated every fifth year. He also sent all sorts of ornaments for it out of his own furniture, that it might want nothing to make it decent. Nay, Julia, Cæsar's wife, sent a great

* Josephus, Antiq. l. xvi. c. 2 s. 1.

part of her most valuable furniture (from Rome), insomuch that he had no want of any thing. The sum of them all was estimated at five hundred talents. Now, when a great multitude was come to that city, to see the shows, as well as the ambassadors whom other people sent, on account of the benefits they had received (from Herod), he entertained them all with a noble generosity in the public inns, and at public tables, with perpetual feasts; this solemnity having, in the day-time, the diversions of the shows, and in the night, such banquetting as cost vast sums of money. For in all his undertakings he was ambitious to exceed whatsoever had been done before of the same kind. And it is related that Cæsar and Agrippa often said, that 'The dominions of Herod were too little for the greatness of his soul, that he deserved to have all the kingdom of Syria, and that of Egypt also.' "*

It was not long after this, that the scene of joy and congratulation was turned into one of tumult and contention. In the year of Christ 54, when Nero reigned in Rome, and Felix was procurator of Judea, a great sedition arose between the Jews that inhabited Cæsarea, and the Syrians who dwelt there also, concerning their equal right to the privileges belonging to citizens. For the Jews claimed the pre-eminence,

* Josephus, Antiq. l. xvi. c. 5. s. 1.

because Herod their king was the builder of Cæsarea, and because he was by birth a Jew. Now the Syrians did not deny what was alleged about Herod; but they said that Cæsarea was formerly called Strato's Tower, and that then there was not one Jewish inhabitant. When the presidents of that country heard of these disorders, they caught the authors of them on both sides, and tormented them with stripes, and by that means put a stop to the disturbance for a time.*

It had by this time become the great sea-port of Palestine, and in the history of the voyages of the Apostles, frequent mention is made of their embarkation and landing there.† Cornelius, the centurion, who worshipped Peter on his entering the city from Joppa, each of them having had remarkable dreams which led to their interview‡, resided at Cæsarea, and is said, by tradition, to have been the first bishop of the city. Paul, after touching at Tyre on his voyage from Greece into Phœnicia, came to Ptolemais, and from thence to Cæsarea, where he and his companions tarried with Philip the Evangelist, whose four virgin daughters were distinguished by the gift of prophecy; and at whose house, Agabus, a prophet who had come

* Josephus, Antiq. l. xx. c. 8. s. 7.

† Acts, ix. 30. and xviii. 22. ‡ Ibid. x.

down from Judea, predicted the future bondage of the apostle, by binding himself with Paul's own * girdle.

Ananias, the son of Nebedeus, was the high priest before whom Paul so nobly pleaded his own cause; when, on being commanded to be smitten on the mouth by those that stood by, for merely protesting the innocence of his life, he exclaimed, in the language of a freeman, "God shall smite thee, thou whited wall; for sittest thou to judge me after the law, and commandest me to be smitten contrary to the law?" † This was after the murder of Jonathan, the high priest, in the temple, and previous to the sacerdotal appointment of Ismael, the son of Fabi, by king Agrippa, under whose high priesthood Percius Festus was sent as successor to Felix, by Nero; the principal of the Jewish inhabitants of Cæsarea going even to Rome to accuse Felix. ‡

It was before this Felix that Paul himself was accused by Ananias, who had descended from Jerusalem to Cæsarea with the elders, and a certain orator, named Tertullus, for that purpose; and to the same governor that he offered the eloquent defence, in which, as he reasoned on

* Acts, xxi. v. 10, 11. † Ibid. xxiii. 3.
‡ Josephus, Antiq. l. xx. c. 8. s. 8. 9.

righteousness, temperance, and judgment to come, even the stern Roman trembled. *

The period between this first accusation before Felix, and the arrival of Percius Festus to succeed him, was passed by Paul in a two years' imprisonment at Cæsarea; Felix detaining him under the hope of bribe or ransom. Being left in bonds by the one, he was found so by the other; and after a visit of Festus from Cæsarea to Jerusalem, he was, on his return, again cited before the judgment-seat, to answer the charges of his accusers. The bold and eloquent replies to Festus, the appeal to Cæsar, and the pleadings before Agrippa, with the perils of the voyage to Italy from this port †, all gave an interest to the spot, while treading on its ruins, which one must really feel to appreciate fully.

In the description of the march of Titus across the desert of Pelusium, from Egypt to Palestine, with intent to besiege Jerusalem, he is said to have halted at Cæsarea, having taken a resolution to gather all his forces together at that place. ‡ And after the memorable siege and fall of this devoted city, (A. D. 70.), "Titus went down with his army to that Cæsarea which lay by the sea-side, and there laid up the rest of his

* Acts, xxiv. 25. † Acts, xxiv. — xxviii.

‡ Josephus, Jewish War, l. iv. c. 11. s. 5.

spoils in great quantities, and gave orders that the captives should be kept there ; for the winter season hindered him then from sailing into Italy." *

During the long period which elapsed between this event and the rise of the Mohammedan power, I know of no remarkable details regarding it ; but, in the middle of the seventh century, its capture closed the list of conquests which had been so brilliantly and rapidly achieved by the Saracen leaders of the Syrian war. "Constantine, the eldest son of Heraclius, had been stationed with forty thousand men at Cæsarea, then the civil metropolis of the three provinces of Palestine, but his private interest recalled him to the Byzantine court, and after the flight of his father, he felt himself an unequal champion to the united force of the Caliph. His vanguard was boldly attacked by three hundred Arabs and a thousand black slaves, who, in the depth of winter, had climbed the snowy mountains of Libanus, and who were speedily followed by the victorious squadrons of Caled himself. From the north and south, the troops of Antioch and Jerusalem advanced along the sea shore, till their banners were joined under the walls of the Phœnician cities. Tripoli and Tyre were be-

* Josephus, Wars of the Jews, l. i. c. 7. s. 3.

trayed, and a fleet of fifty transports, which entered, without distrust, the captive harbours, brought a seasonable supply of arms and provisions to the camp of the Saracens. Their labours were terminated by the unexpected surrender of Cæsarea. The Roman prince had embarked in the night, and the defenceless citizens solicited their pardon with an offering of two hundred thousand pieces of gold. The remainder of the province, Ramlah, Ptolemais or Achre, Sichem or Neapolis, Gaza, Ascalon, Berytus, Sidon, Gabala, Laodicea, Apamea, Hierapolis, no longer presumed to dispute the will of the conqueror; and Syria bowed under the sceptre of the Caliphs, seven hundred years after Pompey had despoiled the last of the Macedonian kings. *

In the time of the Rabbi Benjamin, who called it Siterie, it was still a handsome and fine city, and was thought by him to be the Gad of the early Scriptures. † It is often mentioned in Arabic writers under the name of Caissariah Scham, or Cæsarea of ‡ Syria; and by the Christian historians of the holy wars under its proper name. §

* Gibbon's Dec. and Fall, c. li. p. 419.

† Bergeron's Collection.

‡ Bibliothèque Orientale, vol. i. p. 478.

§ Hakluyt's Collection of Voyages and Travels, vol. ii. p. 48.

In examining the ruins of this celebrated spot, we first passed the remains of a building with fine Roman arches, many of which still remained perfect, while other masses of fallen fragments lay scattered beneath them. A little beyond were the remains of another pile, with five or six granite columns fallen into the sea, on the very edge of which these buildings appear to have been originally erected. They appeared to us to correspond, both in situation and form, with the edifices appropriated to the residence of the mariners, which had a great number of arches, and before them a quay that ran round the whole haven, and formed an agreeable walk near the sea.*

Ascending from the beach, we saw fragments of white marble highly polished, and an abundance of broken pottery of the ribbed or grooved kind, so common amid Egyptian ruins; and this we conceived to mark the site of the edifices which stood all along the circular haven, and were built of the most polished stone, while the pottery might have been fragments of domestic utensils, or of broken vessels used in the service of the temple that stood here.†

We next came to the principal remains which presented to us the ruins of a large and well

* See before, p. 199, 200. † See before, p. 201.

built fort of an irregular form, having four sides facing nearly towards the cardinal points, and the western one fronting the sea.

On its northern front we observed four pyramidal bastions with sloping sides, each about forty feet long at the base, twenty at the top, fifteen feet thick in the centre, and from twenty to twenty-five feet in perpendicular height. They were separated from each other by a space of twice their own length, which was occupied by the main wall of the fort, excellently built; and near the centre, within the wall, we saw the remains of a large building with the arched gateway of a passage through it.

On the eastern front, which is of greater extent than the northern, were ten similar bastions, including both of those at the angles. Opposite to the fourth, from the north-east angle, we observed a well, and looking down into it, saw distinctly an arched passage of undetermined extent, which was doubtless one of those subterranean vaults constructed for the carrying off the filth of the city by the influx of the sea; and as far as the eye could trace it from above, it seemed to confirm the assertion of the historian, that these subterranean vaults had no less of architecture bestowed on them, than had the buildings above ground.* Within the fort immediately opposite to this, was a small square

* See the passage before quoted, p. 201.

edifice; and near it another building with a pointed arched gateway leading through it. Over the fifth bastion still remains the portion of a covered passage with an arched door of entrance into it, and close by another pointed arched window in the upper wall of the fort. Near this we saw on the out side, a large stone ring, or hollow circle, now broken in two, resembling the hollowed bases of columns used over the mouths of the ancient cisterns at Alexandria, and no doubt once applied to the same purpose here. Over the seventh bastion are remains of a still larger mass of building than those seen before, though now much broken; and here a wall ran across the ditch, the arched door of which wall is still perfect, though a piece of the wall itself seems to have been separated, and is now laid up against the original mass like a broad plank. In the northern division of the ditch, close by this door, is seen a flight of steps leading up from the ditch to the fort. Between the eighth and ninth bastion, the remains of the upper wall has arched windows in it; which, with the fragments seen elsewhere, lead to a supposition that they ran all around the fort. The tenth bastion forms the south-east angle, and nearly opposite to it we saw the shaft of a grey granite column, and several pieces both of

sculptured and of polished marble, fragments of the sumptuous palaces which were constructed of white stone in various parts of the * city.

The southern front of the fort is more irregular in its form and proportions than the two others described. Between this bastion of the angle and the next western one, is a wide space of wall, over which we observed the fragments of an arch, with rich mouldings and other sculptured ornaments The second bastion is larger than its preceding one, and between it and the third appears to have been the principal gate of entrance. In the walls are still seen long, slender loop-holes, arches, and a sloping funnel running up on the west side of the remains of the gate itself. The third bastion is very small, and here the wall turns off to the north-west, having another small bastion near it, from whence it continues rounding down to the sea in the form of the beach.

The whole terminates in an edifice on a rocky base, surrounded by enormous blocks of stone, the disjointed masses of the ancient mole now washed by the waves, of which edifice scarcely any perfect portion remains, but among whose ruins are seen fragments of at least twenty granite columns. This may probably be the

* See the description of this edifice, p. 199, 200.

tower of Drusus, which was the largest and most excellent of the towers near the sea, and was built on the mole itself *, where this ruin still stands, having braved the raging fury of two thousand winters, and still defying the storms of ocean to effect its total demolition, though its venerable ruins are lashed by an almost eternal foam.

The fort was surrounded on the north, the east, and the south, by a ditch about thirty feet broad and twenty deep. The whole seems to have been well built, and of great strength, and appears rather to have been demolished by a besieging force than to have fallen gradually to decay.

The fragments of granite pillars, and other marks of splendour seen near the sea, are unquestionably remains of the ancient Cæsarea of Herod; but the fort itself, as it now stands, is as evidently a work of the Crusaders, who had one of their chief military stations here. The great city extended itself from the sea-shore to some distance inland; but its ruin is so complete, that the most diligent survey would scarcely be rewarded by the fixing with accuracy the site of any of the public buildings, or even the delineation of its precise form from the foundation of its walls.

* See the description of this edifice, p. 200.

The plan of Cæsarea given by Pococke is a tolerably accurate outline of the portion of the coast on which its ruins stand, as well as of the fortress there*; but the mounds in which he thought he could recognize the sites of the tower of the Drusus, Cæsar's temple, the colossal statues of Augustus and of Rome, the forum and the theatre, are mere masses of indefinable form, and without a feature that could assist to distinguish the one from the other.

At the present moment, the whole of the surrounding country is also a sandy desert towards the land; the waves wash the ruins of the moles, the towers, and the port, toward the sea; and not a creature resides within many miles of this silent desolation.

At half-past eight we quited Cæsarea, and continued our way along the shore, chiefly on a sandy beach, with here and there beds of rock towards the sea. At ten we turned up from the sea-side on a desert ground, and at eleven we came down again to travel on the beach, without noticing any waters about the site of the old Crocodilorum Lacus of the ancients. I could not learn that it still bore the name of "Moiet-el-Temsah," as asserted by D'Anville †;

* Description of the East, vol. i. part 2. p. 21. folio. Plate V. B.

† Comp. of Anc. Geog. p. 403.

nor did we cross even the bed of a stream there, as marked in his map. Pococke * supposed the stream three miles north of Cæsarea, called by him Zirka, to have been the Crocodilon of Pliny †, which he mentions with a city of the same name, spoken of also by Strabo ‡ as a place that was then destroyed. § The crododiles are said to have been in the river of Cæsarea of Palestine, which may be either the Kersoes of Ptolemy, four miles south of Dora, or the stream of Zirka, north of Cæsarea; but in the place marked for the lake and river by D'Anville, we did not see even a dry bed to warrant our assent to the position assigned to it.

At half-past eleven we crossed a low point of land, called Min Tabos Aboora ||, where is a small bay, obstructed by broken masses of rock. It was said to be a *scala*, to which fruit is

* Descrip. of the East, vol. ii. part 1. p. 58.

† Hinc redeundum est ad oram, atque Phœnicen. Fuit oppidum Crocodilon est flumen: memoria urbium Dorum, Sycaminum. Plin. Nat. Hist. l. 5. c. 19.

‡ Strabo, 16. 758.

§ Johannis de Vitriaco Historia Hierosolymitana, c. 86. Crocodili habitant in flumine Cæsaræ Palestinæ; as quoted in Reland's Palestine, lib. iii. under Cæsarea. Breidenbac also mentions crocodiles in a lake to the east of Cæsarea.

|| مينا or Mina, the first syllable of this name signifies a port or harbour; and the remainder may be the name of some person whom tradition has coupled with the place.

brought from the neighbouring country, behind Jaffa and to the north of it, and here shipped in boats for the more northern ports of Syria. Continuing still near the sea, we turned up at twelve, and crossed over a desert ground, chiefly covered with sand, long wild grass, and a few bushes, amidst which some Bedouin boys were attending their flocks of goats.

At one we came in sight of a cultivated plain, with a long valley running eastward, and showing us on the hill the small village of Belled-el-Sheikh Moosa, having a large building in its centre, like that of Shufammer, before described.

We crossed this valley, and ascending a gentle hill, came, at half-past one o'clock, in sight of a more extensive and beautiful plain, covered with trees, and having the first carpet of verdure that we had yet seen.

On the left we entered the small village of El Mukhalid, to procure some bread and water, as we had yet tasted nothing for the day. The latter was brought to us immediately, but not a morsel of the former could be had without our waiting for it to be made, which would have occasioned too great delay. This village resembled an Egyptian one in the form and construction of its huts, more than any we had yet passed, and was also the poorest we had seen

throughout our journey, consisting of not more than ten or fifteen dwellings.

I was surprrised that so fine a situation as it commanded should not have been occupied by some larger settlement, as the plains below and at the foot of it are more extensive, more beautiful, and, to all appearance, quite as fertile as those of Accho, of Zabulon, or of Carmel. On going round the village, we found, at its south-west angle, a considerable portion of a large building remaining there, having nearly fifty feet of its side wall, and one perfect end-wall still standing. It was built of well-hewn stones, regularly placed and strongly cemented, and showed equally good masonry with that of the fort at Cæsarea, the style of which it resembled. In one part of the side were seen narrow windows and loop-holes; but whether it was solely a military post, a private dwelling provided for its own defence, or the only remaining building of some ancient town, we could not decide. The presence of broken pottery, and particularly of the ribbed kind, scattered about in great quantities around the village and at some distance from it, inclined me to the latter opinion.

The situation corresponds very nearly with that of Antipatris, a city built by Herod, and so called after his father, who was named Antipater. This city is described as being seated at the

descent of a mountainous country, on the border of a plain named Saronas, terminated by the sea *, which agrees exactly with the local features of Mukhalid. †

Its distance of five hours and a half, or about seventeen miles, from Cæsarea, agrees with that assigned to Antipatris in the ancient maps; and its direction, of about S. S. E. from that city, makes it lie also in the most direct line toward Jerusalem. As such it is mentioned in the account of Paul's journey from Jerusalem to Cæsarea, when he was brought down under an escort of two hundred soldiers, seventy horsemen, and two hundred spearmen, to protect him from the conspiracy which was formed to kill him by the way. ‡

Alexander Jannius, one of the kings of Judea, from a fear of Antiochus Dionysius, the last of

* D'Anville's Comp. of Anc. Geog. p. 402.

† Antipatris, sive Antipatrida, prius Caphasalama, Græcè Caphasarama et Dora dicta, urbs pulchra et amœna, sita in optimo campo divite arboribus et fluminibus. Amne circumfluente ipsum oppidum et luco circumdante pulcherrimarum arborum. Adrich. Theat. Terr. Sanc. p. 70.

This name in Arabic مخلد is the participle of تخليد "making perpetual, eternal, immortal, adorning, &c." and would be exceedingly appropriate to a city founded by a prince so ambitious to convey his fame to posterity by architectural monuments, as Herod is said to have been.

‡ "Then the soldiers, as it was commanded them, took Paul, and brought him by night to Antipatris." Acts of the Apostles, xxiii. 31.

the race of the Seleucidæ who was marching against the Arabians, is said to have cut a deep trench between Antipatris, which was near the mountain, and the shores of Joppa. He also erected a high wall before the trench, and built wooden towers to hinder any sudden approach. No traces of these now remain; and their disappearance is sufficiently accounted for by the same historian, who soon after says, "But still this Alexander was not able to exclude Antiochus, for he burnt the towers, filled up the trenches, and marched on with his army." *

The Roman general Cestius, after marching from Ptolemais to Cæsarea, is said to have removed with his whole army from thence, and marched to Antipatris in the way to Jerusalem. And when he was informed that there was a great body of Jewish forces gotten together in a certain tower called Aphek, he sent a party before to fight them. This party dispersed the Jews by affrighting them without engaging; so they came, and finding their camp deserted, they burnt it as well as the villages that lay about it." † As this tower of Aphek was most probably of stone, since the wooden ones are particularly mentioned as such, and as the camp and the villages only are said to have been

* Josephus, Jewish War, b. i. c. 4. s. 7. vol. iii. p. 306.
† Ibid. b. ii. c. 19. s. 1. vol. iii. p. 502.

burnt, the portion of the fortified building which still exists here may be the remains of the identical building.

This same Cestius, after marching from Antipatris to Lydda, and destroying it while all its male population was gone up to the feast of tabernacles at Jerusalem, and proceeding from thence to besiege the holy city itself, was at length obliged to fly, and was pursued by the enraged Jews even as far as Antipatris back again, but effected his escape. *

Vespasian also when engaged in prosecuting the Jewish war with increased vigour, from the news of commotions in Gaul and revolutions against Nero in Italy, after wintering at Cæsarea, led his army from thence to Antipatris, in the beginning of the spring, and halted there two days, to settle the affairs of that city, before he resumed his career of desolation, by burning, destroying, and laying waste the cities and villages in his way. †

It seems, therefore, to have been an important and well-frequented military station, and as it is said by Josephus to have been formerly called Chabarzaba ‡, it may probably be the same place

* Josephus, Jewish War, b. ii. c. 19. s. 9. vol. iii. p. 508.
† Ibid. b. iv. c. 8. s. 1. vol. iv. p. 114.
‡ Josephus, Ant. Jud. l. iii. c. 15. s. 1. vol. ii. p. 274.

with Capharsalama, where a battle had been fought in the reign of Demetrius, between Nicanor, one of his honourable princes, a man that bore deadly hate unto Israel, and Judas Maccabeus, the heroic leader of the Jews, when there were slain of Nicanor's side about five thousand men, and the rest fled unto the city of David.*

This place had been confounded with Dora, but the distinction between these has been clearly pointed out by Cellarius.† This geographer supposes the one hundred and forty stadia given to the wall with wooden towers and intermediate redoubts erected from Antipatris to Joppa, to be the accurate distance of these places from each other; which, at the usual computation of eight stadia to a Roman mile, would give about nineteen miles, and correspond pretty nearly with the real distance. The same writer assumes, also, that it was in the third night that St. Paul reached this place from Jerusalem; and on our enquiring its actual distance from the

* 1 Maccabees, vii. 26—32.

† Adrichomius sat confuse: *Antipatris prius Capharsalama, Græcè Capharsarama et Dora dicta.* Unde hauserit, quod Capharsalama, ut in versionibus legitur 1 Mac. vii. 31., sit oppidum Dora equidem nescio. Dora vero et Antipatris Ptolomæo distincta sunt oppida: illud in Phenice extrema; hoc in Judea censuit.—Cellarius, Geog. Ant. Samaritis, p. 324.

holy city, we were told that the journey was performed in three days' easy stages. *

A deep well, enclosed by masonry, and worked by an ox and wheel, lay at the foot of the hill near the town; and from it those spots which now showed verdure had been watered, as this territory, as well as all the sea-coast of Syria, had suffered equally from the late long drought, which had continued from October to the present month, excepting only two or three days' fall about a week since. The heavy rains are generally in December, and in January the country is verdant throughout. At this moment, they were only ploughing a hard soil, and tillage was every where retarded.

Departing from this village, we had the plain below it on our left, and at three we entered again on desert ground, covered with sand, wild grass, and bushes. At four, we came to a narrow fertile pass, where we remarked caves and grottoes on each side, as seen before, but could not alight to examine them.

From hence we ascended to an elevated plain,

* Quantum distet ab Hierosolymis ex Apostolorum historia quodammodo cognosci potest, quia milites, Paulum a tertia noctis Antipatridem deducturi, eadem nocte si non totum iter maximam partem tamen confecerunt. Vide cap. 23—23. 31. Itinerarium Burdigalense, nisi numeri fallunt, qui suspecti sunt, habet 42 M. P.—Cellarius, Geog. Ant. Samaritis, p. 324.

where husbandmen were sowing, and some thousands of starlings covered the ground, as the wild pigeons do in Egypt, laying a heavy contribution on the grain thrown into the furrows, which is not covered by harrowing, as in Europe.

Continuing along this elevated plain, we came at six to the village of Heram, at a short distance from which, on the left, just before entering it, we again saw caves and other marks of excavated dwellings, as at Waad-el-Ajul.

This village, which is seated on a high promontory, overlooking the sea, has not more than forty or fifty dwellings, yet possesses a mosque with a minareh, the approach to which is over a small green plat, with a worn foot-path winding up through its centre, like the entrances to many of our country churches in England.

We passed into the court of the mosque, and, alighting there, found shelter for ourselves and beasts, in a shed erected for the accommodation of travellers, and attached to the building. Our hunger was extreme on arriving here, and we despatched our muleteer to search for food; but he returned, assuring us that some of the villagers already lain down to sleep, others had had finished their suppers, and had nothing eatable in their huts, and others, who possessed flour, would neither part with that nor make us bread. It seemed to me so impossible that a

whole village could be thus destitute, that I went out myself, but my success was little better, as we returned with a few fragments only of stale bread, and a little lamp oil. On the bread alone I made a scanty supper, assisted by a pipe, which is certainly an allayer of hunger; my servant and our guide, boiling some coarse grain which was used as food for the mules, and moistening it with oil, made also a temporary meal, and we were soon after lulled asleep by the roaring of the sea below.

CHAP. VIII.

BY JOPPA AND RAMLAH TO JERUSALEM.

January 16th. We were awakened by the day-break call to prayer from the gallery of the mosque above us, and at six o'clock we left our cold and comfortless lodging by the moon-light.

Descending to the beach, we continued along the coast under brown cliffs and hills, and came in about two hours to the outlet of a small river called Nahr-el-Arsoof, which, being shallow, we easily forded. We could not perceive any ruins there, though D'Anville has placed the site of Apollonias * at the mouth of the stream called Arsoof, and the historians of the Crusades speak of a castle at this place. †

* Apollonia is enumerated among the cities of the sea-coast by Josephus, and the order in which it is mentioned seems to fix it between Cæsarea and Joppa, though its exact distance from either of these is not given. The stream on which it is seated on D'Anville's map is, however, placed farther to the northward of Jaffa than this.

† "Bedreddin a Taberzam, avec d'autres emirs, prirent par l'épée les châteaux de Césarée et d'Arsoof." Voyez, Les Mines de l'Orient, tome iii. p. 81. en folio.

Keeping still along the sea-shore, we came in half an hour to a little-domed fountain on the brow of the cliff, and observed that the beach beneath was covered with small shells, to the depth of several feet.

We now approached Jaffa, over a desert soil. This town, seated on a promontory, and facing chiefly to the northward, looks like a heap of buildings crowded as closely as possible into a given space ; and, from the steepness of its site, these buildings appear in some places to stand one on the other. The most prominent features of the architecture from without, are the flattened domes by which most of the buildings are crowned, and the appearance of arched vaults. There are no light and elegant edifices, no towering minarehs, no imposing fortifications, but all is mean and of a dull and gloomy aspect.

Turning up from the beach a little to the left, we passed through a Mohammedan burying-ground, and came to the great gate in the eastern wall, before which lay six fragments of grey granite columns. The walls and fortifications have a weak and contemptible appearance, compared even with those of Accho ; as at that place, the entrance is prepossessing, but its interior disappoints the expectations raised. After passing a gate crowned with three small cupolas, there is seen on the right a gaudy fountain, faced with

marble slabs, and decorated with painted devices and Arabic sentences in characters of gold. Passing within, however, the town has all the appearance of a poor village, and every part of it that we saw was of corresponding meanness.

It is seated on a hill, and walled all around as far as we could trace, except towards the sea; the walls are irregular, and weak, and were apparently built at different periods. We saw not more than twelve pieces of cannon mounted, and observed many of the covered arches, intended for musketry, to be filled up with dead horse's bones and other rubbish. The inhabitants here dress like the people of Damietta, wearing a costume intermediate between that of Syria and Egypt, but a still greater poverty seemed to reign throughout all classes.

After ascending and descending hilly streets, we at length reached the house of Signor Damiani, the English Consul, and were received there by his domestics. The consul himself soon arrived, and presented one of the most singular mixtures of European and Asiatic costume that we had yet witnessed. His dress consisted of the long robes of the east, surmounted by a powdered bag-wig, a cocked hat with anchor buttons and black cockade, and a gold-headed cane, all of the oldest fashion. The airs and grimace of his behaviour were that of a French frizeur rather

than of an old government-officer; and, indeed, there was nothing about him that seemed consistent with the notions that are generally entertained of consular dignity.

We were shown into a miserable hovel, which was dignified with the name of the British residence, though darker, dirtier, and more wretchedly furnished than the meanest cottage of England. Here, too, we were first consoled by the news that there was a British fleet of eighty sail of the line before Egypt, and that all the consuls of the Levant were flying for safety; and next assailed with a train of questions which, luckily, were followed up so closely as to leave no intervals for answering them. "Are you a Milord?" "Are not the Protestants Jews? If not, are the English entirely without religion, or are they idolaters, unbelievers, or heretics?" "Is not St. Helena, where Bonaparte is banished, five thousand leagues to the north of England, in the Frozen Sea?" &c. &c.

As we intended our stay here to be but sufficient to feed our animals, we had given orders that they should be prepared as soon as possible for the prosecution of our journey; and short as the interval was, I employed it in walking about the town and in viewing its port.

The assumed antiquity of this place would be alone sufficient to excite one's curiosity regard-

ing it. It is mentioned by Pliny, being said to have existed before the deluge *, though it has been doubted, whether by the expression "terrarum inundatione," the Roman writer meant to imply the universal deluge spoken of in Genesis. Pomponius Mela has a similar expression †, and it is probable, indeed, that the one writer has but repeated what the other had said before; but even this tends to confirm the popularity of the supposition.

The fable of Andromeda, Perseus, and the sea-monster, of which this place is said to have been the scene ‡, has been ingeniously explained by supposing that this daughter of the Ethiopian king was courted by the captain of a ship, who attempted to carry her off, but was prevented by the interposition of Perseus, who, returning from the conquest of the Gorgons, saw her, and was captivated by her beauty. One might be perhaps allowed to explain the meaning of "Antedilu-

* Joppe Phœnicum antiquior terrarum inundatione, ut ferunt. Insidet collem præjacente saxo, in quo vinculorum Andromedæ vestigia ostendunt. Hist. Nat. l. v. c. 13.

† Est Joppe, ante diluvium, ut ferunt, condita: ubi Cephea regnasse eo signo accolæ affirmant quòd titulum ejus, fratrisque Phinei veteres quædam aræ cum religione plurima retinent. Quin etiam rei celebratæ carminibus ac fabulis, servatæque a Persco Andromedæ clarum vestigium belluæ marinæ ossa immania ostendunt. Pomp. Mela. l. i. c. 11.

‡ Stra lib. xvi. p. 759.

vium" in a similar way, by supposing that it referred to the drowning of this kingdom by Neptune, who sent the sea-monster to ravage the country, because Cassiope, the mother of Andromeda, had boasted herself fairer than Juno and the Nereides. *

Pliny, it is true, mentions that the skeleton of the huge sea-monster, to which Andromeda was exposed, was brought to Rome by Scaurus, and carefully preserved, and that the marks of the chains, with which this object of Neptune's vengeance was fastened to the rock, were still to be seen in his day. † Pausanias, too, insists that near Joppa was to be seen a fountain, where Perseus washed off the blood with which he had been covered from the wounds received in his combat with the monster, and adds that from this circumstance the water ever afterwards remained of a red colour. ‡

It is upon other authority that is handed down to us the account of Jonah and the whale, and as this was the port from whence he embarked to flee to Tarsus from the presence of the Lord §,

* See the authorities for this fable collected by Lemprière, under their proper head.

† Chateaubriand's Travels, vol. i. p. 371. 8vo.

‡ Ibid.

§ There seems to have been some error either in the writer or the copyist of the passage itself in the Scriptures, where it is said, "But Jonah rose up to flee unto *Tarshish* from the presence

the profane account of the sea-monster may perhaps have some connection with the sacred one of the large fish that swallowed up the prophet. A late traveller has concluded, from the ribs of forty feet in length, and the other

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of the Lord, and went down to Joppa; and he found a ship going to *Tarshish*." Now Tarshish, according to the best authorities, was a port on the Red Sea, for which it would be a circuitous voyage. In the history of the acts of the kings of of Judah, the historian says, "Jehoshaphat made ships of *Tharshish* to go to Ophir for gold, but they went not; for the ships were broken at Ezion-geber." (1 Kings, xxii. 48.) "And he joined himself with him to make ships to go to *Tarshish*; and they made the ships in Ezion-gaber. And the ships were broken, that they were not able to go to Tarshish." (2 Chronicles, xx. 36, 37.) Now, though Ophir has been placed by some in Arabia, by others in Africa, and by others in India, (see Vincent, Volney, and Bruce,) yet Ezion-gaber is fixed by all authorities at the head of the Elanitic Gulf, or eastern fork of the head of the Red Sea. (D'Anville's Comp. of Anc. Geog. p. 441. 8vo.) So that Tarshish was necessarily somewhere on the *east* of Africa, unless the circumnavigation of the Cape in this voyage be supposed. Josephus, in detailing the same story regarding Jonah, which he professes to have copied accurately as he found it recorded in the Hebrew books, says, that the prophet Jonah finding a ship at Joppa, he went into it, and sailed to *Tarsus in Celicia*. (Ant. Jud. lib. ix. c. 10. 2.) This port was indeed in a sufficiently direct route as a point of debarkation for a journey to Nineveh; and that this was the port understood among the inhabitants of the country itself, may be inferred from the fact of a pillar being shown near to Alexandretta, and not far from *Tarsus*, as marking the spot where, according to tradition, the prophet was vomited up from the whale's belly, and from whence he commenced his journey in a straight line to the threatened city.

anatomical proportions given of the sea-monster to which Andromeda was exposed, that it was really a whale. It is contended that this is sufficient evidence of there having been whales in this sea, without having recourse to the testimony of the Scriptures, though Mr. Bryant entertained a contrary opinion.* But these conjectures, coupled with the fact of that fish having been from the earliest times an object of worship at Joppa, though it by no means proves the foundation of this city before the deluge described by Moses, as has been assumed, gives the appearance of some affinity between the accounts of the Jews and Gentiles regarding this spot.

Some authors ascribe the origin of Jaffa to Japhet, son of Noah, and thence derive its name, adding, that it was here the patriarch himself went into the ark, and that at the same place were afterwards deposited the bones of this second father of mankind. Andrichomius says that its name of Jaffa was derived from Joppa, its primitive form, which signifies beautiful or agreeable, and is the same with Japho.† Its

* See the argument in a note to Dr. Clarke's Travels, vol. ii. p. 642.

† Deinde Joppe est Ἰόππη Græce, Ebræis יפו Japho, sita contra extremitatem septemtrionalem tribûs Dan, cujus termi-

present name is nearer to this than to any other, it being now called Yafah *, and it is one among many other instances, of the oldest name outliving all subsequent ones bestowed on places by foreigners and strangers.

The fact of this having been the great port of Judea at a very early period, will hardly be questioned; and we may admit, without hesitation, that this was the point at which were collected such of the materials as were brought by sea for the building of the temple of Jerusalem, it being the nearest place at which they could be landed. †

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nus erat בעל יפו e regione Japho, quod LXX Græci verterunt πλησιον Ιοππης. Hi Ebræum Japho, et alibi Ιοππην, Joppen, expresserunt. 11 Paralip. ii. 16. Ezræ iii. 7. Jonæ i. 3. ex quo satis certum est, idem oppidum esse Japho et Joppen. Cellarius, Geog. Ant. p. 320.

* يفع in Arabic, signifies *a hill*, and يفوع *high places*, in the plural; names which are characteristically appropriate to the local features of Yafah under all its changes.

† In the correspondence of Hiram with Solomon, regarding the supply of materials for the building of the first temple, the Tyrian king first promises to convey the timber of Lebanon by sea to any place which the Jewish monarch might appoint, and to discharge it there, (1 Kings, c. 5. v. 9.) In another copy of the same letter, it is said, however, "And we will cut wood out of Lebanon as much as thou shalt need; and we will bring it to thee in flotes by sea to Joppa, and thou shalt carry it up to Jerusalem." (2 Chron. ii. 16.) In the building of the second temple, it was used for the same purpose. "But the foundation of the temple of the Lord was not yet laid. They gave money also unto the masons and to the carpenters; and

In the wars of the Maccabees, when Judea was a scene of great contention, a deed of treachery is laid to the charge of the men of Joppa, in destroying the innocent with the guilty. This was so completely in the spirit of the early wars that deluged this country with blood, as almost to justify the exemplary vengeance which was taken on their town for such an act. It was burnt and exposed to pillage and massacre by Judas Maccabeus, who called on God the righteous Judge to avenge him on the murderers of his brethren. "The men of Joppe also did such an ungodly deed; they prayed the Jews that dwelt among them to go with their wives and children into the boats which they had prepared, as though they had meant them no hurt; who accepted of it according to the common decree of the city, as being desirous to live in peace, and suspecting nothing; but when they were gone forth into the deep, they drowned no less

meat, and drink, and oil unto them of Zidon, and to them of Tyre, to bring cedar-trees from Lebanon to the sea of Joppa, according to the grant that they had of Cyrus king of Persia." (Ezra, iii. 7.) The Sidonians also were very ready and willing to bring the cedar-trees from Libanus; to bind them together, and to make an united float of them, and bring them to the port of Joppa. For that was what Cyrus had commanded at first, and what was now done at the command of Darius. Jos. Ant. Jud. l. xi. c. 4. 1.

than two hundred of them. When Judas heard of this cruelty done to his countrymen, he commanded those that were with him to make them ready. And calling upon God the righteous Judge, he came against those murderers of his brethren, and burnt the haven by night, and set the boats on fire, and those that fled thither he slew. And when the town was shut up he went backwards, as if he would return to root out all of them of the city of Joppe."*

About this time Joppe appears as sustaining a siege, and at length falling before the fear of Jonathan the High Priest, who had invested it. It soon after was entered a second time by an officer of Simon, the brother of Jonathan, who had been entrapped at Ptolemais. He had been elected by acclamation to become the captain and leader of the Jews instead of Jonathan, and had sent down a force from Jerusalem, to cast out those who were in Joppe, and to remain therein. †

* 2 Macc. xii. 13. A. C. 166. to 161.

† "So when Jonathan heard these words of Apollonius, he was moved in his mind, and choosing 10,000 men, he went out of the city Jerusalem, where Simon his brother met him for to help him. And he pitched his tents against Joppe; but they of Joppe shut him out of the city, because Apollonius had a garrison there. Then Jonathan laid siege unto it, whereupon they of the city let him in for fear; and so Jonathan won Joppe." 1 Maccabees," x. 74. A. C. 161. 144.

This place is afterwards enumerated among the cities desired to be restored to the Jews by a decree of the Roman senate, after having been taken from them by Antiochus, as expressed in a letter sent by the ambassadors of the Jews, from Jerusalem to Rome.*

It was about this time also peculiarly privileged by a decree of Caius Julius Cæsar, imperator and dictator, in being exempted from the yearly tribute which all the other cities of the Jews were obliged to pay for the city Jerusalem. †

The history of this place in the days of the apostles is more familiar to us, and the vision of Peter, who saw a sheet descending from heaven covered with animals clean and unclean, and heard a voice exclaiming, "Rise, Peter, kill and eat;" as well as the raising of Tabitha, the female disciple, from the dead, and the reception of the messengers from Cæsarea there, need only be mentioned to be remembered.

The history of the taking of this place from the pirates, by Vespasian, is worthy of being detailed more at length, particularly as the operations strikingly illustrate the local description by which the account of them is accompanied,

* Josephus, Antiq. Jud. l. xiii. c. 9. s. 2. A. C. 128.
† Ibid. l. xiv. c. 10. s. 6. A. C. 45.

and which is remarkable for its clearness and fidelity.

"In the mean time there were gathered together, as well such as had seditiously got out from among their enemies, as those that had escaped out of the demolished cities, which were in all a great number, and repaired Joppa, which had been left desolate by Cestius, that it might serve them for a place of refuge. And because the adjoining region had been laid waste in the war, and was not capable of supporting them, they determined to go off to sea. They also built themselves a great many piratical ships, and turned pirates upon the seas near to Syria, and Phœnicia, and Egypt; and made those seas unnavigable to all men. Now as soon as Vespasian knew of their conspiracy, he sent both foot and horse to Joppa, who entered the city, which was unguarded, in the night time. However, those that were in it perceived that they should be attacked, and were afraid of it. Yet did they not endeavour to keep the Romans out, but fled to their ships, and lay at sea all night, out of the reach of their darts.

"Now Joppa is not naturally a haven; for it ends in a rough shore, where all the rest of it is straight, but the two ends bend towards each other; where there are deep precipices and greater rocks that jut out into the sea; and

and where the chains wherewith Andromeda was bound have left their footsteps, which attest to the antiquity of that fable. But the north wind opposes and beats upon the shore, and dashes mighty waves against the rocks, which receive them, and renders the haven more dangerous than the country they had deserted. Now as these people of Joppa were floating about in this sea, in the morning there fell a violent wind upon them; it is called by those that sail there, the black north wind; and there dashed their ships one against another, and dashed some of them against the rocks, and carried many of them by force, while they strove against the opposite waves, into the main sea. For the shore was so rocky, and had so many of the enemy upon it, that they were afraid to come to land. Nay, the waves rose so very high, that they drowned them. Nor was there any place whither they could fly, nor any way to save themselves; while they were thrust out of the sea by the violence of the wind, if they staid where they were, and out of the city, by the violence of the Romans. And much lamentation there was when the ships were dashed against one another, and a terrible noise when they were broken to pieces. And some of the multitude that were in them were covered with the waves, and so perished; and a great many were

embarrassed with shipwrecks. But some of them thought that to die by their own swords, was a lighter death than by the sea, and so killed themselves before they were drowned. Although the greatest part of them were carried by the waves, and dashed to pieces against the abrupt part of the shore. Insomuch that the sea was bloody a long way, and floated with dead bodies; for the Romans came upon those that were carried to the shore, and destroyed them. And the number of the bodies that were thus thrown out of the sea was four thousand and two hundred. The Romans also took the city, with out opposition, and utterly demolished it.

"And thus was Joppa taken twice by the Romans in a little time; but Vespasian, in order to prevent these pirates from coming thither any more, erected a camp there where the citadel of Joppa had been, and left a body of horse in it, with a few footmen, that these last might stay there and guard the camp, and the horse might spoil the country that lay round it, and destroy the neighbouring villages and smaller cities. So these troops overran the country, as they were ordered to do, and every day cut many to pieces, and laid desolate the whole region.*

* Josephus, Wars of the Jews, b. iii. c. 9. s. 2, 3, 4.

About two centuries after this, it was visited by St. Jerome, who speaks of it under its original name of Japho, which it still retained with very little corruption, when it was held by the Saracens, into whose hands it had fallen during the Syrian war.

It was necessarily a contested point with the crusaders, as the port of debarkation for Jerusalem, and it therefore figures in all the naval operations of their wars.* The Rabbi Benjamin, who has been so often accused of magnifying the numbers of the Jews in all parts of the world, with a view to enhance the importance of his own nation, found here, about this period, only one solitary individual, who was a dyer of linen †; seemingly the most common occupation of the labouring Jews in those days, as that of money-changing is at present.

It was among the number of the early conquests made by the renowned Salah-el-din, who came from his native mountains of Koordistaun to avenge the insults offered by a Frank ‡ to the name of his prophet, and to the cities which had

* See the details in Hakluyt's Collection.

† Quinque ab hinc leucis est Gapha, olim Japho, aliis Joppa dicta ad mare situ; ubi unus tantum Judæus, isque lanæ, inficiendæ artifex est. From Chateaubriand, vol. i. p. 372.

‡ Reginald de Chatillon.

been honoured by containing, the one his cradle, and the other his tomb.* Only three months after the battle of Tiberias, the first city which had fallen before his arms, he had possessed himself of all the sea coast excepting Tyre and Tripoly, and appeared before the walls of Jerusalem itself.†

In the third crusade, after the surrender of Acre, and the departure of Philip Augustus of

* Mecca and Medina.

† Bibliotheque Orientale, article Salahheddin, vol. iii. p. 176.: and Gibbon, vol. ix. c. 69. p. 146.

"After this, king Richard purposed to besiege the city of Joppe, where, by the way betweene Achon and Joppe, neere to a towne called Assur, Saladine, with a great multitude of his Saracens, came fiercely against the king's rereward, but through God's merciful grace in the same battell, the king's warriers acquitted themselves so well, that the Saladine was put to flight, whom the Christians pursued the space of three miles; and he lost, that same day, many of his nobles and captaines in such sort, (as it was thought), that the Saladine was not put to such confusion forty yeres before, and but one Christian captive, called James Auernus, in that conflict was overthrowen.

"From thence king Richard proceeding further, went to Joppe, and then to Ascalon, where he found first the city of Joppe forsaken of the Saracens, who durst not abide the king's coming: Ascalon, the Saladine threw downe to the ground, and likewise forsooke the whole land of Syria, thro' all which land the king had free passage without resistance: neither durst the Saracen prince encounter after that with king Richard." The woorthy voiage of Richard the first, king of England, into Asia, for the recoverie of Jerusalem out of the hands of the Saracens. Hakluyt's Collection, vol. ii. p. 62. 4to.

France, the English Richard, Cœur de Lion, led the crusaders to the recovery of the sea coast, and the cities of Cæsarea and Jaffa were added to the fragments of the kingdom of Lusignan. * It was here that he is said to have leaped himself the foremost on the beach, when the castle was relieved by his presence, and sixty thousand Turks and Saracens fled before his arms. The discovery of his weakness provoked them to return in the morning, and they found him carelessly encamped before the gates, with only seventeen knights and three hundred archers. Without counting their numbers, he sustained their charge; and we learn, from the evidence of his enemies, that the king of England, grasping his lance, rode furiously along their front, from the right to the left wing, without meeting an adversary who dared to encounter his career. Well might the historian ask, "Am I writing the history of Orlando, or Amadis?" †

After the last crusade of St. Louis the ninth of France, who expired in his camp before Tunis in Africa, Jaffa fell with the other maritime towns of Syria, under the power of the Mamlouks of Egypt, who first shut up the Franks within their last hold at Acre, and soon after closed by its capture the bloody history of these holy wars.

* Gibbon, vol. ix. c. 69. p. 146. † Ibid. vol. ix. c. 6. p. 148.

It was, no doubt, long before it recovered from the repeated shocks which these successive sackings, plunderings, and conflagrations had given it; and, indeed, it even seems to have been, only a century or two ago, almost destitute of inhabitants. Monconys, in 1647, describes the town as having only an old castle, and three caverns hollowed out of the rock; and Thevenot, some years afterwards, says, that the monks of the holy land erected wooden huts before the caverns, but that they were forced to demolish them by the Turks.

Le Bruyn, who travelled in 1675, has given two highly characteristic views of the place in the relation of his voyage, from which it appears even then to have been, as he expresses it, a place of no importance.* Since that period, however, it must have gradually increased; though, in 1776, it again suffered all the horrors of war, having its population, young and old, male and female, barbarously cut to pieces, and a pyramid formed of their bleeding heads as a monument of a monster's victory.†

Its history, since that period, is numbered among the events of our own day; and will be long remembered as giving to the world one of

* Voyage au Levant, p. 249.

† Volney's Travels in Syria, vol. i. p. 150. 8vo.

the earliest pledges of Bonaparte's disregard to the fate of his associates in arms, when his own safety could be purchased by their sacrifice.

Jaffa, as it is now seen, is seated on a promontory jutting out into the sea, and rising to the height of about one hundred and fifty feet above its level, having a desert coast to the north and south, the Mediterranean on the west, and fertile plains and gardens behind it on the east.

It is walled around on the south and east towards the land, and partially so on the north and west towards the sea. There are not more than a thousand habitations in all the town, and the number of three mosques, one Latin convent, and one Greek church, will afford a guide to estimate the relative proportions of these religious bodies to each other.

There is a small fort near the sea on the west, another on the north, and a third near the eastern gate of entrance, mounting in all from fifty to sixty pieces of cannon; which, with a force of five hundred horse, and nearly the same number of infantry, would enable the town to be defended by a skilful commander.

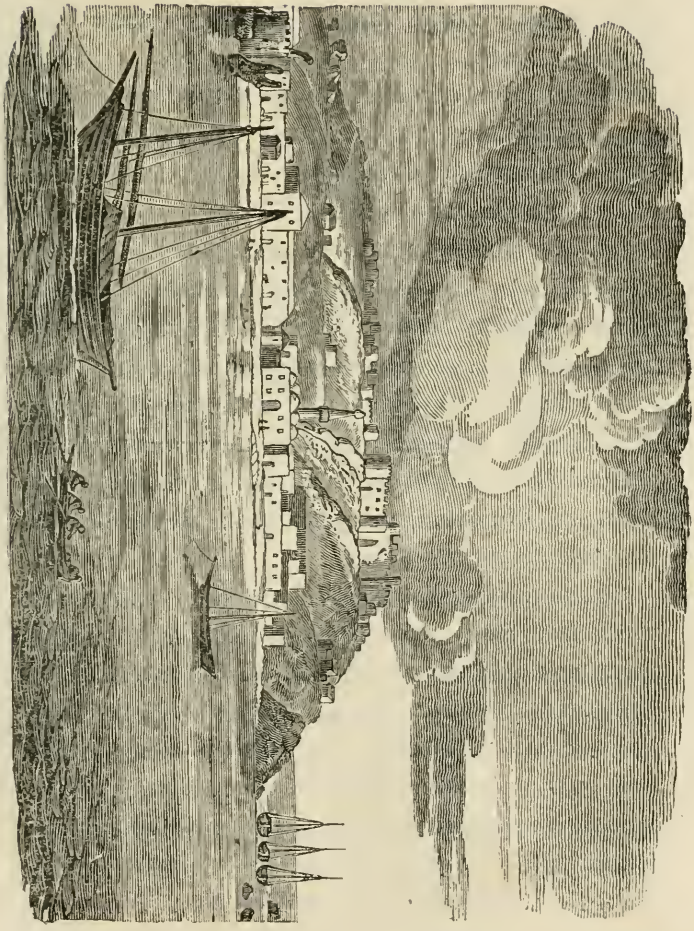
The port is formed by a ledge of rocks running north and south before the promontory, leaving a confined and shallow space between these rocks and the town. Here the small trading vessels of the country find shelter from south and west

winds, and land their cargoes on narrow wharfs running along before the magazines. When the wind blows strong from the northward, they are obliged to warp out, and seek shelter in the small bay to the north-east of the town, as the sea breaks in here with great violence, and there is not more than three fathoms water in the deepest part of the harbour; so accurately do the local features of the place correspond with those given of it by Josephus.

Strabo mentions an opinion, that Jerusalem could be seen from hence *; but this has been observed to be impossible, since the hills between these places are actually higher than that on which Jerusalem stands. Josephus says, that from the tower Psephinus, which was elevated to the height of seventy cubits above the third wall, where Titus pitched his own tent, there was seen a prospect of Arabia at sun-rising, as well as of the utmost limits of the Hebrew possessions at the sea westward. † The tower Hippicus is described as fourscore cubits in height, and that of Phasaelus as ninety, which latter is said to have resembled the tower of Pharos, which exhibited a fire to such as sailed to Alexandria, but was much larger than it in compass. §

* Strabo, l. xvi.

† Josephus, Wars of the Jews, l. v. c. 4. ‡ Ibid.



APPROACH TO JAFFA FROM THE NORTHERN BEACH.

It has been attempted to explain the passage of Strabo, by supposing that these towers from their great altitude might have been seen from Joppa, and thus, too, the sight of the sea from Psephinus be confirmed. But this last might easily have been true without the other necessarily following; since, from the great elevation of Jerusalem, the visible horizon to seaward would be extended to a point not only far beyond Joppa, but even beyond the range of vision westerly from thence. The light of the fire occasioned by the conflagration of the Jamnites' fleet in the harbour of Joppa by Judas Maccabeus, might, however, have been easily seen at Jerusalem, as it is said to have been*, from its illuminating the higher parts of the atmosphere in its ascent.

On returning from our excursion around the town and port, we sat down to a dinner of as meagre a kind as could well be prepared in an European manner, and had to drink large potions of the weakest and sourest wines that I had ever yet tasted, even in this country. Here we were unexpectedly joined by a Greek doctor whom I had met at Jedda, on my last voyage from India to Egypt by the Red Sea. This man, rushing suddenly into the room, clasped me round the neck, and, after a profusion of kisses

* 2 Maccabees, xii. 9.

in the fashion of the East, told me that he had just arrived with some pilgrims from Damietta, and begged that we would detain ourselves for him, that he might have the honour of entering Jerusalem with a "Milord Inglese."

I was glad to evade this ill-timed flattery by pressing a subject on which I had determined to make minute enquiry. The fact of Bonaparte's having murdered his prisoners here in cold blood had been doubted, from the mere circumstances of the consul having omitted to mention it, though he had not been once questioned as to the point. This, however, I was resolved to do; and in reply we were assured by this same consul's son, Damiani, himself an old man of sixty, and a spectator of all that passed here during the French invasion, that such massacre did really take place; and twenty mouths were opened at once to confirm the tale.

It was related to us, that Bonaparte had issued a decree, ordering that no one should be permitted to pass freely without having a written protection bearing his signature; but publishing at the same time an assurance that this should be granted to all who would apply for it on a given day. The multitude confided in the promise, and were collected on the appointed day without the city, to the number of ten or twelve hundred persons, including men, women, and children.

They were then ordered on an eminence, and there arranged in battalion, under pretence of counting them one by one. When all was ready, the troops were ordered to fire on them, and only a few escaped their destructive vollies. A similar scene was transacted on the bed of rocks before the port, where about three hundred persons were either shot or driven to perish in the sea, as if to renew the deeds of treacherous murder which the men of Joppe had of old practised on the Jews, and which their heroic defender had so amply avenged.*

* 2 Maccabees, xii. 39.

CHAP. IX.

VISIT TO RAMLAH, AND ENQUIRIES INTO ITS HISTORY.

It was about four o'clock when we quitted Yafah, on our journey towards Jerusalem ; and, after leaving the gate we went on through a road bordered on each side by formidable fences of the prickly-pear, within which were gardens filled with orange trees bending beneath the weight of their yellow fruit.

In about half an hour we halted at an highly ornamented fountain, similar to that within the gate at Yafah. It was probably the same spring which, in the time of Pausanias, was celebrated as that at which Perseus washed the blood from his wounds ; though the structure around it is purely Turkish. We could answer to the fact of its waters being no longer tinged, however, either from that or any other cause ; since we admired their refreshing coolness and crystal purity, and, after slaking our thirst from their stream, renewed our way, till darkness soon bounded our view on every side.

After about four hours' ride, chiefly across a

fine plain, with here and there a gentle ascent, passing several small villages at a little distance on the left by the way, and seeing marks of fertility and cultivation, we approached Ramlah. The town of Lydd, the Lydda of the Scriptures, was on our left within sight, when we entered Ramlah through a road similar to that leading from Jaffa, bordered with fences of prickly-pears, and having an abundance of trees scattered on each side.

We were directed to the convent, for the superior of which the president at Nazareth had given us a letter; and we were kindly received by the good old friars. We were scarcely entered, before there arrived from Jerusalem two Christian pilgrims, ecclesiastics of Turin, who had left Trieste in the vessel now at Caypha, which was to have brought hither the Prince of Sweden, and all his brother pilgrims, but which could not accommodate them. These ecclesiastics had been at Jerusalem for the last two months, and had spent their Christmas there. They were seemingly devout and sincere, and spoke with enthusiasm of the pleasures of pilgrimage, and of the joy of suffering in the performance of it. Neither of them seemed to be above twenty years of age; and being full of spirits, their society was extremely agreeable.

17th. After an early breakfast with the pilgrims, who were journeying towards their home, we procured a guide from the convent to direct us in our examination of the town and its environs; where, as throughout the greater part of Palestine, the ruined portion seemed more extensive than that which was inhabited.

This city appears in the early history of the kings of Israel, as the residence of Samuel. In the account of Saul's malice against David, he is described to have been first saved from his anger by Jonathan hiding him in a cave; again, by slipping aside from a thrust of his javelin; and, lastly, by being let down through a window by Michal his wife, who substituted an image covered with a cloth, lying on a pillow or bolster of goat's hair*, in his place, pretending it to be David lying sick in bed. On this last occasion

* Josephus tells this story of the stratagem of David in another way; saying that his wife put under the bed-clothes a goat's *liver*, which, by its still quivering or leaping in motion, seemed to those who beheld it, like the respirations of an asthmatic person. Whiston says, on the translation of this word by *liver*, instead of *a pillow or bolster of goat's hair*, "Since the modern Jews have lost the signification of the Hebrew word here used, *Cebir*; and since the LXX, as well as Josephus, render it the *liver* of the goat; and since this rendering, and Josephus's account, are here so much more clear and probable than those of others; 'tis almost unaccountable that our commentators should so much as hesitate about its true interpretation."—Notes to Josephus, vol. i. p. 400. 8vo.

he is said to have fled to Ramah, where Samuel dwelt. *

It might seem doubtful, however, whether Ramah here meant a *town* or a *district;* the latter being rather probable, from the expression of "Naioth in Ramah," where it is said David was; but it is after his arrival in safety at Ramah, that it is said, "And he and Samuel went and dwelt at Naioth;" which might be interpreted, therefore, as the name of a distinct town.

In the history of Elkanah, the son of Jeroham, with which the first book of Samuel commences, he is called a man of Ramathaim-zophim, of Mount Ephraim. † This was the name of a *city*, as it is added, "And this man went up out of his city yearly to worship and sacrifice unto the Lord of Hosts in Shiloh." ‡ That this too was the same with Rama, may be inferred from a subsequent verse, which says, on describing their return from Jerusalem, "And they rose up in the morning early, and worshipped before the Lord, and returned and came to their house to Ramah."§

It continues to be frequently mentioned in the history of Samuel, their son, who was born here,

* See the 19th chapter of 1 Samuel, throughout.
† 1 Samuel, c. i. ver. 1. ‡ Ibid. ver. 3.
§ Ibid. ver. 19.

continued to visit it often during his life, and at last ended his days in this place. "And Samuel died, and all the Israelites were gathered together, and lamented him, and buried him in his house at Ramah."*

In the history of the Maccabees, it resumes its first name of Ramathaim, in a letter of king Demetrius to his father Lasthenes, of which he sends a copy to his brother Jonathan and the nation of the Jews. "King Demetrius unto his father Lasthenes sendeth greeting. We are determined to do good to the people of the Jews, who are our friends, and keep covenants with us, because of their good will toward us. Wherefore we have ratified unto them the borders of Judea, with the three governments of Appharema, Lydda, and Ramathem, that are added unto Judea from the country of Samaria, and all things appertaining unto them, for all

* 1 Samuel, c. xxv. ver. 1. In the time of Benjamin of Tudela, this Ramah had a synagogue, in which the Jews kept the body of Samuel, who was buried there. Of this Ramah, the learned Reland, who did not conceive it to be the place of Samuel's birth and sepulchre, says, "Scriptorem antiquiorem qui hujus Ramæ mentionem facit, non novi Bernardo Monacho, qui sæculo nono vixit, et iter instituit in loca sancta anno 870, et in libro de locis sanctis ita ejus meminit: 'Deinde venerunt Alarixa: de Alarixa in Ramula juxta quam est monasterium beati Georgii martyris, ubi ipse requiescit. De Ramula ad Emmaus castellum, de Emmaus ad sanctam civitatem Hierusalem.'"

such as do sacrifice in Jerusalem, instead of the fragments which the king received of them yearly aforetime, out of the fruits of the earth and of trees."*

It has been conceived, that the Ramah of Samuel was nearer to Jerusalem, and between it and Bethlehem; though the data on which that is assumed are at least ambiguous. The earliest authentic notice which I have met with of the Ramah there mentioned, as still bearing the same name, is in Le Bruyn's "Voyage au Levant," where that name is given to some insignificant ruins; and this rested only on the tradition of the people of the country, whom he accuses of confounding this Ramah with Ramatha, which was on the road from Joppa to Jerusalem.†

Pococke, in passing through the same place, saw only some signs of the foundation of a

* 1 Maccabees, c. xi. ver. 32. *et seq.*

† Aux environs de cette tour il y a quantité de grosses pierres, et de vieux fondemens de bâtimens qui y ont été autrefois. Les gens du pays disent que ce sont les restes de l'ancienne ville de Rama, dont il est parlé dans Jérémie, xxxi. 15. "Ainsi a dit l'Eternel, Une voix de lamentation et de pleurs très-amer a été ouie en Rama, Rachel pleurant ses enfans, elle a refusé d'être consolée touchant ses enfans, de ce qu'il n'y en a plus." Les habitans du pays confondent, mal-à-propos, ce Rama avec Ramatha, qui est sur le chemin de Joppe à Jérusalem, et qu'ils appellent, sans raison, Rama. Chap. lii. p. 284. folio.

house, and equally doubted of this being the Ramah of the Scriptures.*

Chateaubriand; for the sake of introducing with effect a specimen of Hebrew eloquence, sees lights in the village of† Ramah, though no such village existed; but he says nothing more of it in his way to Bethlehem. And Dr. Clarke, though he notices minutely, not only all that he passed, but all that could be seen from the road between Jerusalem and Bethelhem, does not even mention any thing regarding the site of Ramah there. ‡

Phocas, a very accurate writer, describes the distance of Ramah from Jerusalem as equal to

* In the road between Jerusalem and Bethlehem, "we came to a place where there are some signs of the foundation of a house, and near it there are caves and cisterns, which, they say, was the house of Jacob, where Rachel died. Some, though probably without foundation, think that this was Ramah, and others, with as little reason, that it was the house of Keli, the father of Joseph, who was the husband of the blessed Virgin." Vol. ii. part i. p. 39.

† We perceived in the mountains, for night had come on, the lights of the village of Ramah. Profound silence reigned around us. It was, doubtless, in such a night as this that Rachel's voice struck the ear. "A voice was heard in Ramah, lamentation and bitter weeping; Rachel weeping for her children, refused to be comforted because they were not." Here the mothers of Astyanax and Euryalus are outdone; Homer and Virgil must yield the palm of pathos to Jeremiah. — Chateaubriand's Travels, vol. i. p. 390. 8vo.

‡ Dr. Clarke's Travels, vol. ii. c. 18.

thirty-seven miles*; "and if this be true," says the writer, from whom this is quoted, "Jaffa is forty-seven miles at the least from Jerusalem," evidently, therefore, meaning the Ramah in the plain between. This same place is fixed at thirty miles from Jerusalem by Quaresimus†; and Phocas, already quoted as an authority for the distance of thirty-seven miles, places Armathem, the city of Samuel, at only six miles, and Ramplex or Ramola at twenty miles, making them decisively distinct places.‡

There are unfortunately neither local features nor accurate distances, either in the Scriptures or in Josephus, who copies from them, by which we could determine precisely the place of the Ramah of Samuel, or distinguish it from the many other towns of that name which are said to have existed in Palestine.§ Cellarius

* Dr. Clarke's Travels, vol. ii. Note p. 624.

† "Via à Rama usque ad Jerusalem est triginta circiter milliarium." Eleucid. T. S. tom. ii. p. 12.

‡ "A sancta civitate Hierusalem, ad sex milliaria, Armathem urbs conspicitur, in qua Samuel magnus ille propheta ortum habuit. Inde post alia septem et amplius milliaria Emmaus, urbs magna, in media valle supereminenti dorso jacet. Sic ad passuum fere viginti millia Rampleæ (hæc est Ramola, sic leg. Reland) regio effunditur: et templum ingens in eadem, sancti magni martyris Georgii visitur." Phocæ Descrip. Loc. Sanct. apud Leon. Allat, Συμμ. Colon. 1653.

§ There seems to have been a place called Ramah, somewhere near both to Jerusalem and to Bethlehem, as in the story of the Levite and his concubine, related in the 19th chap.

who had all the authorities for deciding the question within his reach, evidently considered this Ramah to be the same with that mentioned in the Book of Samuel, and notices the variation of its names in different passages. * Adrichomius may not, therefore, have confounded these, as he is accused of doing, in differing from Phocas; † and though Bethoron and Ramah are said by

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of Judges, when they were come in the evening near to Jebus, which is Jerusalem, they proposed to pass over to Gibeah, or Ramah, to lodge for the night, rather than enter "*this city of strangers*;" and there were others of the same name, with variations of Ramath, Ramatha, Ramathon, Ramoth, &c. in various parts of Judea. See Reland's Palestina Illustrata.

* Vicina Lydda fuit Ramah sive Ramathah, nisi hæc forma ex illa est cum *He* locali adfixa: prior occurrit 1 Sam. c. xix. 19 — 22, posterior in notione termini ad quem, 1 Sam. c. i. 19 — 22; c. ii. 11; c. xix. 18 — 22. Eadem dicta Ramathaim-zophim, 1 Sam. c. i. 1. Montibus Ephraim adhærabat, ut ibidem dicitur: ideo alia ab Rama Benjamin, quæ et Saulis vocatur, de qua infra LXX pluribus locis Αρμαθαιμ, Armathæm, tribus syllabis ut in libris est (et inde 1 Macc. c. xi. 34. Ραμαθέμ,) at 1 Sam. c. xix. 18, 19. εν Ραμὰ. Patria Samuelis fuit: qui et ibi habitavit, c. xv. 34; c. xvi. 13; c. xix. 18. Joseph. lib. v. c. xi. est Ραμθὰ, dicenti de Elkana Samuelis patre, Ραμαθὰν πολιν κατοικων Ramatham urbem incolens. Una ex tribus fuit, quæ ex Samaritide detractæ, et contributæ regione Judæ sunt, 1 Macc. c. xi. 34. Posteriori ævo dicta fuit Ramula — Guilielmus Tyrius, lib. vii. c. 22. "In vicini (Lyddæ) nobilis civitas est Ramula nomine. Est in via quæ à Joppe fert Hierosolymam." — Cellarius, Geog. Ant. lib. iii. c. xiii. p. 323. 4to.

† Dr. Clarke, vol. ii. p. 636. Note 7.

St. Jerome to have been built by Solomon *; yet, as no earlier authority is given for that opinion, it might have been merely tradition in his time, in a country where all great works are attributed to that monarch †, and would not, therefore, invalidate the claim to its being the Ramah to which that monarch's father fled. ‡

Its origin has been similarly ascribed by an Arabic writer to "Suliman Abd-el-Melek," who is said to have built it from the ruins of Lydda, in the vicinity § ; but even this may refer only

* Dr. Clarke, vol. ii. p. 629. Note 1. "Rama et Betheron et reliquæ urbis nobilis à Salomone constructæ parvi viculi demonstrantur." St. Jerome.

† "Dans toute la Syrie les Mahométans, comme les Juifs, et les Chretiens, attribuent tous les grands ouvrages à Salomon." — Volney, Etat. Politique de la Syrie, vol. ii. p. 134.

‡ The learned Reland separated this Ramah of Samuel from the Ramah of the plain, as he says at the word רִבָּה urbs in Benjamin. (Jos. xviii. 25.) *Inter Ramah et Bethel in montanis Ephraim* (Jud. iv. 5. Legitur, Jud. xix. 13.) *Perge ut Gibeae, vel Ramae pernoctemus*, unde situs Ramæ illustratur. . . . . Aberat 6 miliaria, ab Delia, sive Jerusalem, ad septentrionem contra Bethel. testi Eusebio in Œnamastico. . . . . *Rama quæ est juxta Gabaa in septimo lapide à Jerosolymis sita*, scribit Hieron. ad cap. 5. . . . . Est porro Rama in Ephraim, ubi Samuel habitavit et sepultus est. — Palestina Illustrata, 4to. 1714. p. 963. 964.

§ Urbem hanc idem non antiquam, sed conditam esse scribit. (Abulfeda in geographia sua manuscripta) ab Solimanno, filios Abd-el-Melek, vastato urbe Lydda, et aquæductu, cisterna, aliisque rebus ornatam abesse ab urbe Hierosolymitana iter unius diei, Lyddam inde abesse tres parasangas (فراسخ) versus ortem (في ناحية الشرق) at etiam versus septentrionem, ut alii referunt. Reland, tom. ii. p. 959.

to the same tradition of Solomon, son of David, being its founder, or relate to repairs and augmentations actually made by such a person as the one named.

St. Jerome conceived it to be the Arimathea of the *Scriptures; and Adrichomius, who entertained a similar opinion, traces its various names through all their changes, from Ramathaim and Ramah, as it is called in the Old Testament†, to Ramatha or Armatha‡ the seat of Samuel, as Josephus has it, and to the Arimathea§ of the New Testament, and the Ramla of the present day.‖

The oriental geographers speak of this as the metropolis of Palestine¶, and every appearance of its ruins even now confirm the opinion of its having been once a considerable city. Its situation, as lying immediately in the high road from Jaffa to Jerusalem, made it necessarily a place of

* Haud procul ab ea (Lydda) Arimathiam viculum Joseph. qui Dominum sepelevit. Hieronymus in Epitaphio Paulæ.

† 1 Samuel, as already referred to.

‡ Josephus, Index 3. Letter A.

§ St. Luke, xxiii. 51.

‖ Vide Adrichom. Theat. Terr. Sanct. p. 29. Colon. 1628.

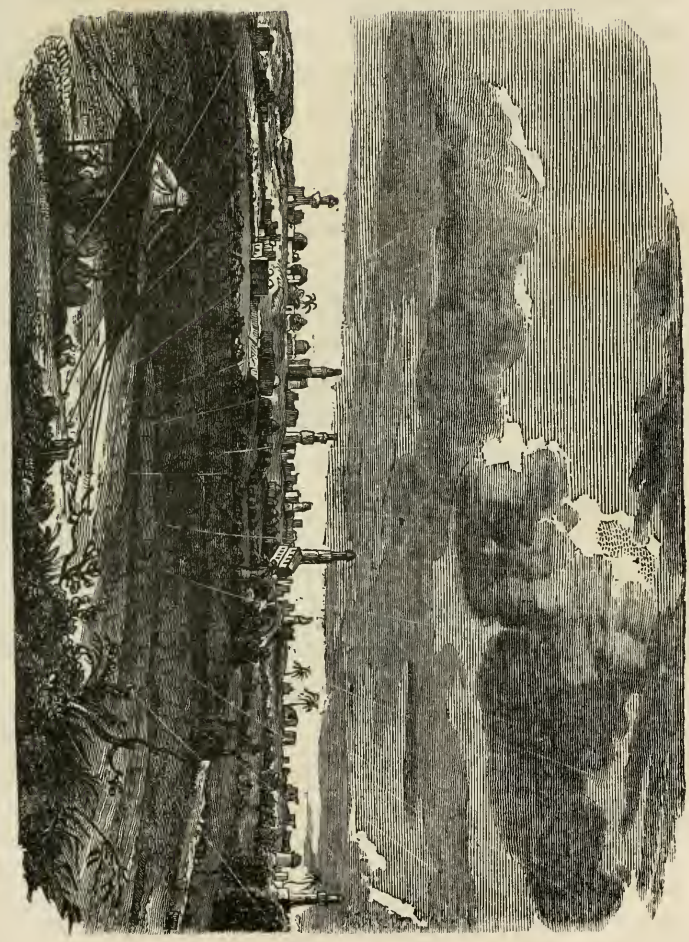
¶ Abulhasen Persa, in geographia sua manuscripta, vocat راماه قصبة بلاسطين Ramolam caput Palæstinæ. Liceat enim vocem قصبة ita reddere, quæ metropolin significat, uti jam observavit Golius in notis ad Alferganum, pag. 279. Rel. Pal. Illust. p. 959. 4to. 1714.

great resort; and from the fruitfulness of the country around it, it must have been equally important as a military station or a depôt for supplies, and as a magazine for the collection of such articles of commerce as were exported from the coast.

In its present state, the town of Ramlah is about the size of Jaffa, in the extent actually occupied. The dwellings of this last, however, are crowded together around the sides of a hill, while those of Ramlah are scattered widely over the face of the level plain on which it stands.

The style of building here, is that of high square houses with flattened domes covering them; and some of the terraced roofs are fenced around with raised walls, in which are seen pyramids of hollow earthenware pipes, as if to give air and light without destroying the strength of the wall itself.

On the large mosque we noticed a square tower with pointed arched windows, like many of our country-church steeples in England, differing only from these in being surmounted by an open gallery, and a flat-domed summit. These last, it could be plainly seen, were subsequent additions, and did not harmonize with the tower itself, which was purely Gothic, and, no doubt, a Christian work at the period of the crusades. We saw also in other parts of the town, vestiges



TOWN OF RAMLAH, AS SEEN FROM THE WEST.

of Gothic edifices, of a character decidedly different from Saracen architecture, though both of them have the pointed arch in common; but all these were greatly ruined.

The convent of the Latins is large and commodious, though not equal to that of Nazareth. It has a good church, an open court, with a fine spreading orange-tree, and several wells of excellent water in it for their gardens.

The inhabitants are estimated at little more than five thousand persons, of whom about one-third are Christians of the Greek and Catholic communion, and the remaining two-thirds Mohammedans, chiefly Arabs; the men of power and the military only being Turks, and no Jews residing there.

The principal occupation of the people is husbandry, for which the surrounding country is highly favourable; and the staple commodities produced by them are corn, olives, oil, and cotton, with some soap and coarse cloth made in the town.

There are still remains of some noble subterranean cisterns at Ramlah, not inferior either in extent or execution to many of those at Alexandria. They were intended for the same purpose, namely, to serve in time of war as reservoirs of water; and they are, no doubt, those spoken of by the Arabian geographer, as quoted before.

Some writers place here the tomb of St. George the Martyr, the patron saint of our crusading kings *, from whom is descended to us the St. George's ensign, emblazoned with the symbol of the red-cross knights : but neither the fathers of the convent, nor the guide which they had given us, could tell us any thing regarding it.

Equally ignorant were such of the Mohammedans as we questioned of the tomb of Lockman the sage, a man as celebrated among them for his wisdom, as St. George is with us for his valour. †

On our return to the convent, we found every thing ready for the prosecution of our journey, and thanking the friars for their hospitality, we mounted our mules, and set forward on our way.

* Deinde venerunt Alarixa; de Alarixa in Ramula, juxta quam est monasterium beati Georgii Martyris, ubi ipse requiescit. Bernardus de Locis Sanctis. Anno 870. apud Reland, p.959.

† Le chapitre 31. de l'Alcoran, qui porte le nom de Locman, s'appelle Sourat Lokman. Mahomet y fait parler Dieu, qui dit ces paroles. Lécadatina Locman alhecmat. "Nous avons donné la sagesse à Locman." L'auteur du Tarikh Montekheb écrit que le sépulcre de Locman, se voyoit encore de son temps à Ramlah ou Ramah, petite ville que n'est pas éloignée de Jérusalem." Bib. Orient. tom. 2. p. 485.

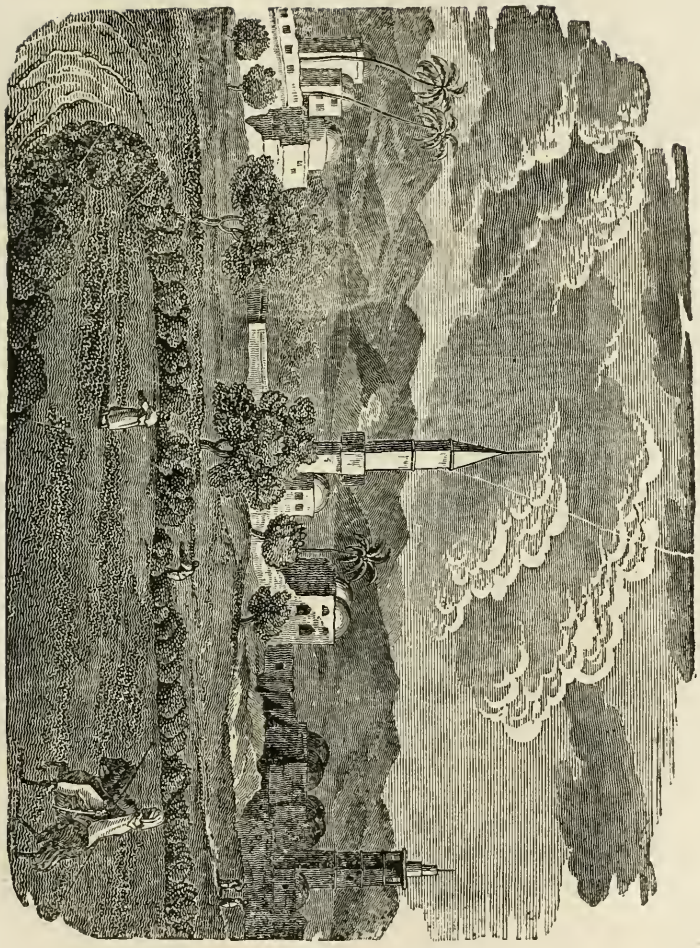
CHAP. X.

JOURNEY FROM RAMLAH, THROUGH THE MOUNTAINS, TO JERUSALEM.

We left the town of Ramlah through a road again bordered by the prickly-pear, and continued over a fine plain until nine o'clock, when we began to ascend, but gently, over land that was partially cultivated. At ten, we came to rugged hills, and saw on the left, in one or two places, vestiges of old Gothic buildings.

Passing the first range of hills, we came to a long narrow defile, in which we met a number of Mohammedan pilgrims, chiefly Barbary Arabs, returning from Mecca by way of Damascus and Jerusalem ; there were some few women among them, who were all barefoot and miserably dressed ; and there was only one camel to carry the baggage of the whole party.

From hence we went up a steep ascent, and passing a small building on the left, at noon we reached another similar one, where a caphar, or toll, of sixteen paras was demanded of us.



VIEW OF THE MOUNTAINS OF JUDEA FROM RAMLAH.

Still ascending, we reached at length the summit of these hills, from whence we had a view of the extensive plains to the west, through a break in the line of the first range of smaller hills, distinguishing plainly, Ramlah, Lydda, and Jaffah, with a long line of coast on the north and south, and the distant horizon of the west. Stoney and rugged as the hills were here, there were yet patches of ploughed land, and evident marks of care to save every rood fit for cultivation.

Descending now on the eastern brow of these hills, we came at one o'clock to the village of Abu-Gosh, so called from its lord, an Arab chief in great power here. A caphar was again demanded of us by a party of about twenty men, who sat by the way-side armed to enforce it. It was accordingly paid, and soon afterwards the chief himself, a fierce red-bearded man of about forty, coming to accost us, demanded our paper of protection. It was shown to him, and he said, that as he held himself responsible for our safe passage through his territory, which lay between that of the Pasha of Acre, and the Pasha of Damascus, he must keep this paper to certify that we had so passed safely through his hands.

In this village we saw the ruins of a Christian church, apparently once a handsome edifice, now used as a stable for oxen. There are here

about two thousand inhabitants, chiefly Mohammedan; and though the country around is rocky and hilly in the extreme, it is carefully cultivated, even to the very summit of the hills. Maundrell's observations on the subject are perfectly just *, though the inferences he draws of the ground thus producing more than if the surface were a level, is erroneous, as proved by Sir Humphrey Davy's experiments on the effect of gravitation on roots. †

The ground is preserved level in steps or stages, by little stone walls, as at Malta and Goza, which give the whole a singular appearance. The hills are all of a white stone, like that of the range of Mount Carmel, enclosing flints, but sparingly, and breaking in horizontal layers of about a foot thick, these again breaking transversely so as to form innumerable square stones. The soil is lighter and of a redder colour than in the plains of Zabulon and Esdraelon; and besides corn and cotton, we saw vines in great plenty, with olive-trees in the vale below.

On reaching the foot of the hill on which the village of Abu-Gosh is situated, we again ascended, and gaining the summit of this second range at two o'clock, we were obliged to dis-

* Journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem, p. 87. 8vo.

† See these in his work on Agricultural Chemistry.

mount, in order to descend a steep and rugged road. Near the bottom of this we drank at a humble fountain, over which was an Arabic inscription; and continuing along a rocky road by the side of a hill, we opened upon the village of Ayn Kareem * on the right, and Kalioon on the left, in the former of which are Christians, in the latter Mohammedans. Both these villages are small, but the valleys near them abound with olive-trees, and the hills are cultivated with labour and care. We met here three peasants at different times, two of whom separately demanded of us, "When will there be rain?" and seemed quite disappointed at our replying, "Allah allim," or, "God knows."

Still descending, we found, at the bottom of the valley, the ruins of a building, which the peasants told us was once a Christian edifice. It was of small size, yet constructed of massy blocks, and presented an appearance of considerable strength, but not enough of it remained to enable us to pronounce on its age or character, though, being of rustic masonry, it was probably Roman. †

* عين كريم literally, the generous or beneficent fountain.

† Mariti ascribes this structure to some monks or other. For an Italian traveller, the error is a gross one. If the architecture of this edifice be not Hebrew, it is certainly Roman; the junctures, the figure, and the bulk of the stones, leave no doubt on this subject. — Chateaubriand, vol. i. p. 384.

Passing onward through the bottom of the valley, and turning to the north, we came to the remains of a stone bridge, having an excellent pavement of broad and flat stones over it. The bridge itself was now partly broken, and the bed of the torrent below it was perfectly dry. From hence we perceived caverns in the rock near the village of Kalioon, no doubt the habitations of former ages; and ascending still higher, over a broad but steep and rugged road, we saw, near the summit of the hill, to the north of the village, a grotto entered by a square door-way, evidently artificially hewn.

We still ascended towards the summit of this high range over a most fatiguing and constantly obstructed path, opening on our left upon a round hollow valley below, with a village, the name of which we could not learn, on the brow of the hill. Reaching the cold and bleak summit of the mountain at four, we saw a convent in an elevated vale on the right, and began to perceive a minareh through some trees, with a small domed building nearer to us. Our road upward from the bridge had shown indistinct vestiges of a paved way, but on the top of the hill, where the road was now flat, the pavement was more decidedly seen, from its being better preserved.

As the sun was hastening fast to decline, we

quickened the pace of our weary mules, and riding for about half an hour over the rugged face of this mountain's top, we came at five in sight of Jesusalem, on the western brow of this hill, and now but a little below us.

The appearance of this celebrated city, independently of the feelings and recollections which the approach to it cannot fail to awaken, was greatly inferior to my expectations, and had certainly nothing of grandeur or beauty, of stateliness or magnificence, about it. It appeared like a walled town of the third or fourth class, having neither towers, nor domes, nor minarehs within it, in sufficient numbers to give even a character to its impressions on the beholder; but showing chiefly large flat-roofed buildings, of the most unornamented kind, seated amid rugged hills, on a stoney and forbidding soil, with scarcely a picturesque object in the whole compass of the surrounding view. *

* Dr. Clarke, in approaching Jerusalem from the road of Napolose, says, "We had not been prepared for the grandeur of the spectacle which the city exhibited; instead of a wretched and ruined town, by some described as the desolated remnant of Jerusalem, we beheld, as it were, a flourishing and stately metropolis; presenting a magnificent assemblage of domes, towers, palaces, churches, and monasteries; all of which, glittering in the sun's rays, shone with inconceivable splendour." He adds, in a note, however, "At the same time it should be

We hastened to the gate, which was in the act of closing as we entered it; and turning towards the left, and passing through some narrow paved streets, which were unusually clean, we arrived by a circuitous route, at the Latin convent of the Terra Santa, where we alighted at a dark door beneath a covered passage.

On being shown up to the friars, I could not help observing that suspicion seemed to exist among them all, of my being a poor man; my scanty baggage was eyed with contempt, and twenty questions were asked me in a breath. Fortunately, the kind superior of Nazareth had given me a letter for the procuratore generale here, but as it was some time before this could be got at, I was kept waiting the whole of the time in the gallery.

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confessed, that there is no other point of view where Jerusalem is seen to such advantage." (Vol. ii. p. 524.)

Mr. Browne approached it from Jaffa as we did, and he says, "I must confess the first aspect of Jerusalem did not gratify my expectation. On ascending a hill, distant about three miles, this celebrated city arose to view, seated on an eminence, but surrounded by others of greater height; and its walls, which remain tolerably perfect, form the chief object in the approach. They are constructed of a reddish stone. As the day was extremely cold, and snow began to fall, the prospect was not so interesting as it might have proved at a more favourable season." (p. 361.)

In the mean time, there came two Hanoverians, dirty, ill-dressed, and from their manner and appearance vulgar men, who addressed me in French, to know if I was really an Englishman. Next came the Portuguese servant of Mr. Bankes, who was in the neighbourhood, to ask me, in broken English, all the same questions over again, by which time my letter was produced, and sent in to the old superior.

All was instantly changed: the President of Nazareth, I know not why, having warmly recommended me to his holy care and protection, as a "Milord Inglese, richissimo, affabilissimo, ed anche dottissimo," messengers were sent out to escort me into the hall of reception, where I met a hearty welcome from four or five of the heads of the church in a circular dome-built library. Sweetmeats and cordials were served; I was hailed as "ben venuto" by every voice; and, shabby as my appearance was, the respect which was paid to me could not have been exceeded, even to a prince.

Supper was prepared for me, and I was conducted to the room occupied by Mr. Bankes, in which there were three beds, as this was the best room, and as such was generally appropriated to travellers of distinction. On the doors and windows here, among other names carved with great care, those most familiar to me, were

Dr. Shaw, the Barbary traveller; Dr. E. Clarke, 1801, and Captain Culverhouse, his companion; Dr. Wittman; John Gordon, 1804, whose name is everywhere in Egypt; Colonel John Maxwell, and Captain Bramson, my companions from Alexandria to Cairo; Mr. Fiot, whom I knew at Smyrna; and several others, of whom I had often heard as travellers in the East; but I saw neither the names of Maundrell, Sandys, Pococke, nor Browne.

I was visited in the course of the morning by all the friars, in turn, and by the two Hanoverians. These last were both young men, dressed as Europeans, who had come with Mr. Bankes's party from Cairo to this place, across the desert, passing the ruins of Ascalon and Gaza on their way from El Arish to Yaffa. Although travelling without any professed object beyond their own pleasure, they were both so poor and destitute as to suffer Mr. B. to pay their expences; and they were here almost without clothes, without servants, and without knowing a word of the language. The friars (not much to their honour), treated them with great contempt, merely on account of their poverty; for though they affected to despise them, as being Lutherans, and therefore not Christians, that objection was not even raised against me, who was at least as far removed from them by religion

as these strangers could be, from an idea that, being an Englishman, I must be rich. They had therefore, put the young Germans into the poorest chamber, and barely permitted their food to be dressed in the common kitchen, instead of feeding them from their own table, which is said to be their practice with poor pilgrims. Besides this, they traduced them when not present, and talked of their forcing them soon to quit the convent; so that, even in this early stage of our acquaintance, I was almost inclined to rebuke them for their want of Christian charity.

These young men were evidently persons of low origin and confined education, and their manners were decidedly vulgar, though set off by the language in which they spoke; as French to an English ear generally conveys with it a notion of breeding and politeness. They had visited all the sacred places except the Holy Sepulchre, which could not be entered but by a payment of thirty-three piastres, a sum they confessed themselves unable and unwilling to pay; yet they constantly assigned their not having seen this, the chief end for which they came to Jerusalem, as the only cause of their further detention. This morning, however, the sepulchre being opened for the Armenian and Greek celebration of the Epiphany, they put on

turbans, enveloped themselves in cloaks, and were carried in, amidst the crowd of the poor, for a piastre each; a triumph which they themselves related to me with an air of self-approbation and delight, and which the friars present all applauded; declaring that thus to cheat the Turks of their exactions was more than just,—it was meritorious.

These young Germans resembled in age, in person, and in many extravagant features of their minds, their countryman, Dr. Kesler, who died in Jedda, and whom they personally knew. They said they had been six years travelling, though neither of them was twenty-six years of age; but their confined information on local topics, proved at least that they had profited little by so long a tour. Having now completed their visits to all the holy places, they received their patents from the superior of the convent, and determined to seize the opportunity of the return of our mules to go to Accho, there to join the pilgrims of Turin, and embark together with them for Europe.

In their excursions around Jerusalem, and in their walks through the town itself, they had received repeated insults from the children, and from the soldiers, which they dared not resent. As these were entirely drawn upon them by their European dresses, we were advised by all those

of the convent not to expose ourselves to a similar fate; so that as it would be indispensably necessary to adopt the dress of the country in prosecuting the remainder of my journey, it appeared more prudent to wait until this could be procured, before we ventured without the walls of the house.

Being in the large room on the terrace usually occupied by travellers, every part of the door of which is crowded with names, from Humphrey Edwin, 1699, to William Turner, 1815, I was suffered to live as best suited my inclination; and, taking a pipe and coffee at day-break, and an early dinner at ten o'clock, I supped on a rice pilaw at sun-set, after which the visits of the friars were again paid, and these occupied the whole of the evening.

These men appeared to me to be much less happy than those at Nazareth or at Ramlah, but at the former place more particularly. Among the whole number of those I had yet seen, were only two Italians, one of whom was a Livornese, and was the spenditore of the convent, and the other, a native of Lucca, cook to the establishment, was recently from Alexandria. The rest were all Spaniards. Though the offices of the Italians were of the lowest kind, their manners were more like those of men of the world, and their understandings more enlarged

than even those Spaniards who were much superior to them in rank. Some of these last were not only inferior to the peasantry of this country in common sense and knowledge, but even to the clowns of our own.

Among the news of Europe, the re-establishment of the Inquisition was spoken of, and all exulted in the hope, that under so wise and pious a king as Ferdinand, the church would again resume its empire, and Christianity flourish. The brightest trait which they could find in his character was, that on any application to him for money to be applied to pious purposes, if the "Convento della Terra Santa" was named, he usually gave double the sum demanded. "Let the Inquisition reign," said they, "and the church will be secure. Let the cross triumph, and the Holy Sepulchre shall soon be redeemed from the hands of infidels by another crusade, in which all our injuries will be avenged."

Instead of the comfort, apparent equality, and cheerfulness, which reigned at Nazareth, and even at Ramlah, all seemed here to stand in fear of each other; gloom and jealousy reigned throughout, and the names of the padre superiore, and of the procuratore generale were as much dreaded as they were respected.

When we talked of the nature of their duties here, every one complained of them as severe in the extreme. The tinkle of the bell for service

was heard at almost every hour of the day; and, besides getting up two hours before sunrise to celebrate a mass, they were obliged to leave their beds every night at half-past eleven, for midnight prayers. Nothing was talked of but suffering, and the difficulty of obedience, ardent desires to return to Europe, and a wish to be sent any where, indeed, on the out-stations, rather than to continue at Jerusalem.

Not even in a solitary instance did I hear a word of resignation, or of the joy of suffering for Christ's sake, or the love of persecution, or of the paradise found in a life of mortification, so often attributed to these men. Either they must think and feel differently in different societies, or be hypocrites in their behaviour and professions; or else those who have reported such things of them must have drawn a picture widely different from the truth.

For myself, I believe the friars to be, in general, sincere, and to display that sincerity whenever they may dare to do so. I am persuaded that they themselves have faith in all the legends which they retail, and that they think their life to be a meritorious one; but as they are still men, they feel sensibly the privations to which they are subject; and all, as far as I could discover, longed to escape from them.

One complained, "I came here for three

years only, and have been kept seven; God grant that I may be able to return home at the coming spring." Another said, "What can we do? we are poor; the voyage is long; and unless we have permission, and some provision made for our way, how can we think of going?" A third added, "In Christendom we can amuse ourselves by occasional visits to friends; and, during long fasts, good fish, excellent fruit, and exquisite wines are to be had." While a fourth continued, "And if one should be taken sick here, either of the plague or any other disease, we have no doctor but an old frater of the convent, no aid but from a few spurious medicines, and nothing, in short, to preserve one's life, dearer than all beside; so that we must end our days unpitied, and quit the world before our time."

These were almost the literal expressions that escaped from the mouths of my visitors, and that too without a question framed to excite them on my part. They were such as I really did not expect to hear, although they offered to me the best explanation of the jealousy and seeming reserve which I had before remarked to reign here, and of which I had seen nothing in the convents described before.

This being the head-quarters, and the court of the church-militant on earth, favour and in-

trigue, no doubt, prevail, and interest becomes necessary to procure the appointments to more agreeable stations, where the duties are less severe, and where the liberty of action is greater.

During my stay at Nazareth, I remember to have met three young friars, one from Damascus, and two from Aleppo, both of them having been ordered there to await their destination from the procuratore generale of Jerusalem. Observing to one of them, who seemed amiable and communicative, that I should be delighted to find his appointment for the Holy City arrive during my stay, so that I might have the pleasure of his company on my way thus far, he replied, "We are all in doubt as to our destinations, but God grant that mine may be for Aleppo;" "And mine also," said another; while the third replied, that, "bad as Damascus was for Christians, he would rather remain ten years there, than be condemned to pass five in Jerusalem." I could not then understand the motive of the dislike to the Holy City, and I was unwilling to give offence by asking an explanation; but now it seemed more intelligible to me.

After the picture of Chateaubriand's first descent at Yaffa, where he found a Spanish friar, with a "cuore limpido e bianco," who assured him that the life he had led for the last fifty years in the Holy land was "un vero paradiso," I

knew not what to think of the confessions which I had this evening heard with my own ears. The zeal of this enthusiastic writer may have carried him very far, but surely not to state a deliberate falsehood; so that the only conclusion at which I could arrive was, that either the characters of the men or the manner in which they lived had changed, or that such happy individuals as Padre Franciscos Munos were extremely rare. *

19th. We were busily engaged, during the whole of the morning, in necessary arrangements for our future journey, and in procuring Turkish clothes from the bazar. This was an affair of greater difficulty than we had at first imagined; the town itself being the residence of a mixed and poor population, is not at all a mart of trade, and consequently its bazars are scantily supplied; so that every thing, even to the necessaries of life, are scarce and dear.

Possessing, at the close of the day, an hour of leisure, I employed it in walking on the terrace of the convent, accompanied by one of the Italians, who pointed out to me the most remarkable objects in the environs, while we commanded a view of the city below, and became partly familiarised with its topography. I was led also through the whole of the convent itself,

* Travels in Palestine, vol. i. p. 364. 8vo.

a labyrinth so intricate, and so extensive, that a stranger might well lose himself in it on a first visit.

In the evening, it being one of the days of constant fast, and the supper light and soon dispatched, I had scarcely finished my own before a party of six friars were already assembled in my room. The gloomy conversations of yesterday were again repeated, and additional causes of regret enumerated.

20th. Early this morning, Mr. Bankes returned from an excursion to the Jordan and the Dead Sea, where he had been accompanied by a crowd of Greek pilgrims, and protected by an escort of soldiers. They had visited Rihhah, the supposed site of Jericho, where there are not the slightest remains of high antiquity; and returning by another route, saw some ancient aqueducts, apparently of Roman execution. They had passed a night at a Mohammedan mosque called "Mesjed el Nebbe Moosa," from an idea prevalent among the people of the country, that here was the tomb of Moses, although, when his death is described in the last chapter of Deuteronomy, it is said, "And he buried him in the valley in the land of Moab, over against Beth-peor, but no man knoweth of his sepulchre unto this day." *

* Deut. xxxiv. 6.

Protected as this party was by an escort, and a large company, they were in considerable danger, from falling into the hands of an Arab tribe, who scoured the plains of Jericho, and had even recently committed robberies between Bethlehem and Jerusalem, close to the walls of the latter. The chief, to whom they were conducted, declared himself independent both of the sultan and all his pashas, and boasted that they spared no Christians who fell into their hands. He consented, however, to protect Mr. Bankes during his stay in the desert, and to return him in safety to Jerusalem, on condition of his interceding for the release of a boy of their tribe, who was now imprisoned at the latter place for a robbery of some camels committed by the tribe itself. Mr. Bankes engaged to use his utmost influence, and on that promise they were all released, while the father of the boy had accompanied them here to await the issue of the negociation.

We were scarcely met, before a visit was paid to us by an Abyssinian prince, named Moosa, who had left Gondar about two years since, with the sister of the Ras Welleta, on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. His female charge had died here only a few months since, and he had subsequently by some means become acquainted with the amiable and excellent Lady Hester Stanhope,

with whom he had remained some time at her residence near Seyda.

Of this Abyssinian, who was not more than forty years of age, we could learn nothing of Bruce, of whom he had not even heard the name, as "Yakoube el Hakeem." He had seen Mr. Salt, however, at Antalow, and said that he passed in the country for the son of the king of England. He knew also Mr. Coffin, and Mr. Pearce, who were still in Abyssinia. These, he assured us, were admitted to the table and confidence of the Ras, and were looked up to as prodigies of excellence in understanding; although one was a man from the lowest walks of life, and the other a common sailor, who could scarcely read. So much for Abyssinian discernment of character!

This prince, soon after leaving us, returned again, bringing with him a large white glass bottle of rakee, and about a pound of tobacco, as presents, and in return he received a piece of white linen, large enough for a turban, and a pair of English scissars, with which he was pleased.

CHAP. XI.

VISIT TO THE HOLY PLACES, CHIEFLY WITHOUT THE WALLS OF JERUSALEM.

January 21. We set out from the convent on an excursion round the city, taking with us a Christian guide, and the Janisary of the friars as an escort; and commenced our perambulation at nine o'clock.

After passing through some small and winding streets, we approached the castle, near which we were shown the house of Uriah; and in a piece of ground near it, an old tank, said to be that in which Bathsheba his wife was washing herself, when David saw and became enamoured of her. In the castle was pointed out to us the very window from which this monarch is said to have been looking out at the time; but when I remarked to our guide that the Scriptures stated it to have been from the roof of the king's house that this woman was beheld *, as well as that the whole of the present building was of modern work, he replied, that he considered the

* 2 Samuel, xi. 2.

authority of the friars, who had lived here many years, to be of greater weight than any Scriptures, and that if I began to start doubts of this nature in the beginning of our visit to the holy places, there would be an end to all pleasure in the excursion. I therefore bowed assent, and remained silent.

We came next to the castle itself, called by some the Castle of the Pisans, which D'Anville thinks was built on the ruins of the ancient palace of David. It is at present a large fortress, surrounded by a ditch, crowned by battlements, and occupying a considerable space of ground. We could not obtain admission into the interior; but as far as we could perceive, from the outer walls, the whole was comparatively a modern work, of Saracen execution; nothing remaining but some masses of strong masonry in large rough blocks near the foundation, which bore the appearance of higher antiquity, and which seemed like the rustic masonry of the Romans.

Leaving this on the left, we went out of the Bethlehem gate, in the south-west quarter of the city; and going down the hill toward the south-east along the foot of Mount Sion, we had on our right a deep valley, in which were several olive-trees, and on our left the celebrated holy hill on which the walls of the city now stand,

although Sion is said to have been nearly in the centre of the ancient Jerusalem. In this valley a large reservoir was seen, which some maintained to be Bathsheba's pool, so that disputes ran high thereon. It was at this moment in a ruinous state, and perfectly dry.

From the foot of Sion we crossed over the valley of Hinnom, a little beyond this tank, and, turning eastward over the side of the opposite hills, we passed, on our right, a number of caverns and grottoes cut out of the rock. These were all small, and, from their situation, must have been originally within the site of the ancient city, if it is satisfactorily proved to have contracted its limits from the southward. This it is said to have done so much, as to exclude all the southern side of Mount Sion which was in its centre, as well as to have extended its limits to the northwaard, so as to bring the sepulchre of Jesus and Mount Calvary, which were without the ancient walls, into the centre of the modern city.

Near these grottoes we were shown an old vaulted building in ruins, erected on the spot supposed to have been purchased by the thirty pieces of silver for which Jesus was betrayed. It was formerly so venerated as to change its name from the "Field of Blood," to that of "Campo Sancto;" and the Armenians

paid to the Turks a rent of one sequin a-day for the privilege of burying their dead there. Close by this we were shown also a small grotto, descended to by steps, and entered by a rude door-way : it was once used by the Greeks for the purpose of interring those of their church who might die here on their pilgrimage. Either from the expense of the heavy rents demanded, or from some change in their opinions as to the propriety of venerating the spot, both parties have discontinued the practice of burying their dead there for the last thirty or forty years.

Still descending to the eastward, we passed a number of small grottoes excavated in the rock, and similar to those before described. In some there were appearances of benches, fire-places, ovens, &c., and, though small and confined, their whole character seemed rather that of humble dwellings than of tombs. We observed some fragments of sculptured ornaments on one of these only, where a frieze of flowers ran along its front, but all the others were plain.

Leaving these grottoes, we descended into the valley of Siloa, by some included in the valley of Jehoshaphat, running nearly north and south, between Mount Sion and the Mountain of Offence, " the hill that is before Jerusalem,

where Solomon built high places for Chemosh and Molech." *

At the southern extreme of this valley, we were shown a well, bearing the name of the prophet Nehemiah, from a belief that the fire of the altar was recovered by him at this place after the Babylonish captivity. † It is narrow, but of considerable depth, and is sunk entirely through a bed of rock. Being lower than any of the wells about Jerusalem, it retains a good supply of water while the others are dry. We found here a party of twelve or fifteen Arabs drawing water in leathern buckets, by cords and pulleys, and from twenty to thirty asses laden with skins of it for the city. On ascending the surrounding work of masonry to drink of this spring, the Mohammedans insisted on our putting off our shoes out of veneration to the place; this was complied with, and after leaving them the usual present of a few paras, we departed.

Turning to the northward, through the valley of Jehoshaphat, we had the village of Siloane on our right, at the foot of the Mountain of Offence; and Mount Sion, on which the city walls stood, still on our left.

We came next to the pool of Siloam, at which the blind man washed off the clay and spittle

* 1 Kings, xi. 7. † 2 Maccabees, i. 19. et seq.

placed by the Saviour on his eyes, and received his sight. * It is now a dirty little brook, with scarcely any water in it; and even in the rainy season, it is said to be an insignificant muddy stream. The illusion created by Milton's sublime invocation to it, in the opening of the Paradise Lost, is entirely done away by the sight of the spot itself.

Going a few paces to the northward, we came to the source of this brook, by some called also the Fountain of the Virgin, from an opinion that she frequently came hither to drink. We descended by two flights of about fifteen steps each, under an arched vault of masonry, to a small pool, containing a little dirty and brackish water. The rock had been hewn down originally to get at this, and a small and crooked passage, of which we saw the beginning only, was said to convey the water out into the valley of Siloa through which we had come up, and to supply the little garden plots there, from which the city of Jerusalem is chiefly furnished with vegetables. Notwithstanding the black and dirty state of the water, and its harsh and brackish nature, it is still used for diseases of the eyes by devout pilgrims.

The village of Siloane, which stands imme-

* St. Luke, ix. 7.

diately opposite to this, on the east, is built on the steep side of the hill, and contains not more than fifty or sixty dwellings. This is thought to be the hill over against Jerusalem, in which Solomon kept his harem of seven hundred wives, princesses, and three hundred concubines, when, even in his old age, his heart clave unto these strange women in love, instead of being perfect with the Lord his God, as was the heart of David his father. *

We saw, on the steep brow of this hill, a great number of excavations; some of the smaller ones of which are now used as habitations, and as places of shelter for cattle. Among them we observed more particularly, an isolated square mass, hewn down out of the solid rock, and, though small, possessing the usual proportions, the full moulding above the frieze, and the deep overhanging cornice, of the Egyptian architecture.

* Among these seducers of his heart from holier affections, are enumerated the women of the Moabites, Ammonites, Edomites, Zidonians, and Hittites. (1 Kings, xi. 1.) For love of these he went after Ashtoreth, and Milcom, and built high places for Chemosh and for Molech. (ver. 5. 7.) Of the strange women who worshipped these gods, the Lord had said unto the children of Israel, "Ye shall not go in unto them, neither shall they come in unto you. Therefore Solomon did evil in the sight of the Lord, and went not fully after the Lord as did David his father." (ver. 6.)

Being still dressed as Franks, we were accompanied by a Janisary and a guide; yet it was not thought altogether safe for us to ascend this hill; although I was extremely desirous of examining more closely this remarkable monument, to see if any of its smaller details might justify the suggestion of its being one of those high places spoken of as built by Solomon to strange gods, and thus partaking of the taste and religious character of the Egyptian edifices, from the daughter of Pharaoh, the principal and most honoured of all his wives. The Janisary murmured and magnified obstacles, and the guide insisted on its not having been the scene of any miracle, which, with all the rest of the party, was a sufficient reason for not turning aside to visit it.

In passing along the foot of this hill, we remarked small flights of steps cut in the rock, and leading from cave to cave, for facilitating the communication between them where the brow of the hill was steepest, exactly similar to those seen among the caves of Kenneri in Salsette.

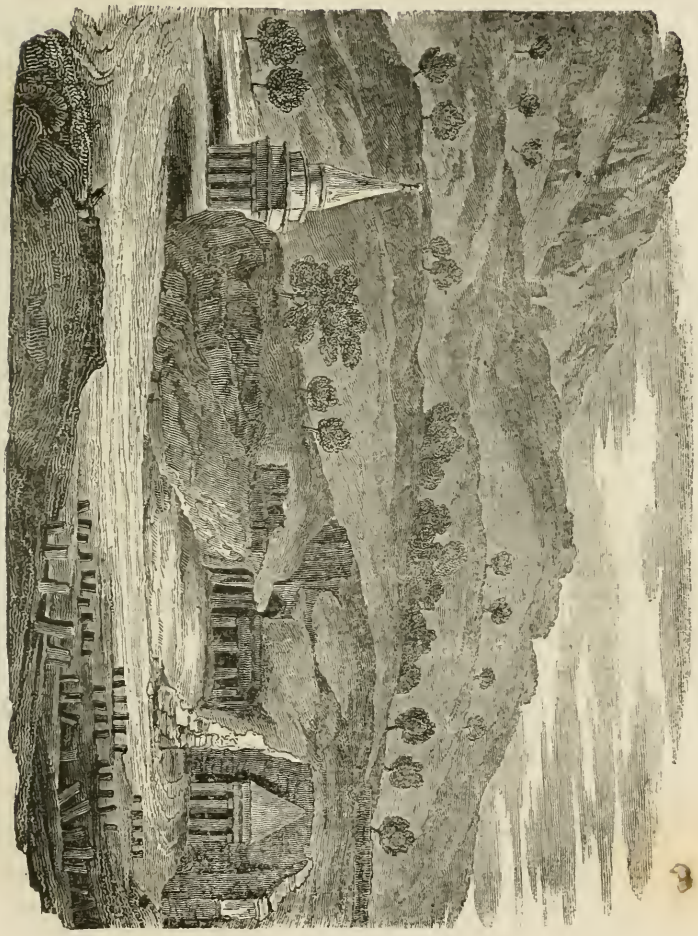
We now entered that part of the valley of Jehoshaphat, properly so considered by the Jews; it being here a deep ravine between the foot of Mount Moriah as a continuation of Sion on the west, where the temple of Solomon once stood, and on which the eastern front of the city walls

now lead along, and the foot of the Mount of Olives on the east, commencing from that part of the same hill described before as the Mountain of Offence.

In the rainy season, this narrow bed is filled by a torrent, which is still called the Brook of Kedron; but it was, at the period of our visit, perfectly dry. This confined space is nearly covered with the grave-stones of Jews, with inscriptions in Hebrew characters; as it is esteemed among them one of the greatest blessings to end their days at Jerusalem, and to obtain a burial in the valley of Jehoshaphat. For this purpose, the more devout among them come from distant parts of the world, and it is certain that immense prices are paid by them for the privilege of depositing their bones in this venerated spot.*

Independently of the celebrity of this valley as the scene of other important and interesting events, the prophet Joel had chosen it for the place of a pleading between God and the enemies of the Jews. "For behold, in those days, and in that time, when I shall bring again the captivity of Judah and Jerusalem, I will also gather

* See the general aspect of this Vale of Death, with its ancient and modern sepulchres, in the vignette on the opposite page.



ANCIENT TOMBS IN THE VALLEY OF JEHOSHAPHAT.

all nations, and will bring them down into the valley of Jehoshaphat, and will plead with them there for my people and for my heritage Israel, whom they have scattered among the nations, and parted my land."* Those spiritualising Jews, Christians, and Mohammedans, who wrest this passage, like a thousand others of the Scriptures, from a literal to a mystical sense, insist on its applying to the resurrection of the dead on the last great day. From this belief, the modern Jews, whose fathers are thought by some of the most learned to have had no idea of a resurrection or a future state, have their bones deposited in the valley of Jehoshaphat. From the same hope, the Mohammedans have left a stone jutting out of the eastern wall of Jerusalem, for the accommodation of their prophet, who, they insist, is to sit on it here, and call the whole world from below to judgment.† And a late traveller, journeying with the staff of a Christian pilgrim, after summoning up all the images of desolation which the place presents, but without once thinking of the contemptible size of this theatre for so grand a display, says, "One might say that the trumpet of judgment had already sounded, and that the dead were about to rise in the valley of Jehoshaphat.‡

* Joel, iii. 1, 2. † Maundrell, p. 138. 8vo.

‡ Chateaubriand, vol. ii. p. 39.

Passing onward, we came to the monument which is called the Tomb of Zacharias: it is a square mass of rock, hewn down into form, and isolated from the quarry out of which it is cut, by a passage of twelve or fifteen feet wide on three of its sides; the fourth or western front, being open towards the valley and to Mount Moriah, the foot of which is only a few yards distant. This square mass is eight paces in length on each side, and about twenty feet high in the front, and ten feet high at the back, the hill on which it stands having a steep ascent. It has four semi-columns cut out of the same rock on each of its faces, with a pilaster at each angle, all of a bastard Ionic order, and ornamented in bad taste. The architrave, the full moulding, and the deep overhanging cornice which finishes the square, are all perfectly after the Egyptian manner; and the whole is surmounted by a pyramid, the sloping sides of which rise from the very edges of the square below, and terminate in a finished point. The square of this monument is one solid mass of rock, as well as its semi-columns on each face; but the surmounting pyramid appears to be of masonry: its sides, however, are perfectly smooth, like the coated pyramids of Saecara and Dashour, and not graduated by stages, as the pyramids of Gizeh in Egypt.

Inconsiderable in size, and paltry in its ornaments, this monument is eminently curious, from the mixture of styles which it presents. There is no appearance of an entrance into any part of it; so that it seems, if a tomb, to have been as firmly closed as the Egyptian pyramids themselves; perhaps from the same respect for the inviolability of the repose of the dead. The features before described gave the whole such a strangely mixed character, that there seemed no other solution of the problem which it offered, than that of supposing the plain square monument, the moulding, the broad cornice, and the pyramid above, to be a work of the Jewish age, as partaking of the style of the country in which their fathers had sojourned so long; and, admitting the bastard Ionic columns and pilasters raised from the mass on each of its sides to have been the ornamental work of a more modern period, added either out of veneration for the monument itself, or on its transfer by dedication to some other purpose. At the present moment it is surrounded by the graves of Jews, and its sides are covered with names inscribed in Hebrew characters, evidently of recent execution.

Close by this, on the north, we came to a cavern called the Grotto of the Disciples, from an idea that they came frequently hither to be taught by their Divine Master; although by

others it is called the tomb of Jehoshaphat, and is supposed to give its name to the valley below. This is an excavation, the open front of which has two Doric pillars of small size, but of just proportions. Within the first porch is a broad passage, descended into by a few steps, and leading to the right, where it ends at a low door-way, opposite to the northern front of the reputed tomb of Zacharias. Within this cave, in a straight line from the front, is a second chamber, with two others leading from it; all of them rude and irregular in their form, and appearing to have been ancient habitations, perhaps subsequently ornamented with the two Doric pillars in front. We saw in one of the inner chambers, several Jewish grave-stones, removed from the valley into this place for security. Like all the rest, they were oblong flat blocks, of from three to six inches in thickness, and formed of the rock of the mountain itself, in which these excavations were made, being a yellowish lime-stone, in some places approaching to a coarse marble.

Going on from hence but a few paces more to the northward, we came to a small bridge of one arch, thrown over the brook of Kedron, and connecting the foot of the Mount of Olives with that of Mount Moriah. It was gravely asserted to us, that Jesus was pushed off this

identical bridge, though the present work scarcely seems to be a century old from its appearance, and is not noticed as existing even in the time of Maundrell.* It was added that this act of violence being committed by the unbelieving Jews, when they were hurrying away their prisoner to the house of Caiaphas the high priest, after all his disciples had forsaken him and fled, he fell on a large stone below, which yielded to the impression of his feet, and left the marks now pointed out to us as such. If the Jews then on the spot failed to remark this extraordinary softness of the stone, or the hardness of the feet that pressed it, and the Evangelists omitted all mention of the fact in their gospels †, one would have thought, that at this late period, a stranger would be allowed the liberty to attribute the shapeless indentations to some more ordinary cause. Not at all: the very inquiry whether the fact was recorded by the Scriptures or not, was considered an innovation as un-

* There was a bridge near this spot, and over the brook of Kedron, at an earlier period, however; as Adrichomius notices it in the description which he has left us of the monuments around Jerusalem:—"Pons Cedron lapideus uno arco supra torrentum Cedron erectus, quem Helena Imperatrix eo in loco construi fecit, ubi in hunc usum antea lignum illud, ex quo pila Domini crucis facta est, jacuisse dicitur." Theatrum Terræ Sanctæ, p. 171. folio.

† St. Matthew, xxvi. 57.

orthodox as a scruple about transubstantiation, or any other of the more popular doctrines of the holy church. *

Opposite to this, on the east, we came to the reputed tomb of Absalom ; resembling nearly in the size, form, and the decoration of its square base, that of Zacharias, before described; except that it is sculptured with the metopes and triglyphs of the Doric order. This is surmounted by a sharp conical dome, of the form used in our modern parasols, having large mouldings resembling rope running round its base, and on the summit something like an imitation of flame. There is here again so strange a mixture of style and ornament, that one knows not to what age to attribute the monument as a whole. The square mass below is solid, and the bastard Ionic columns, which are seen on each of its faces, are half engaged in the rock itself. The dome is of masonry, and on the eastern side there is a

* These indentations were shown to an old English sailor, commander of a merchant ship, who had left his vessel in the harbour of Alexandria to go up to Jesusalem, more than two hundred years ago; and in a note on the passage by Mr. Henry Timbertake, the writer of the Travels, he says, "The authority for these prints of the elbows of Christ, is not the Scriptures, nor any good author, but the monks and friars that are now in possession, and contrive all means to pick the pockets of the devout and credulous." — Harleian Misc. vol. iii. p. 332.

square aperture in it. On the whole, the sight of this monument rather confirmed the idea suggested by the supposed tomb of Zacharias; namely, that the hewn mass of solid rock, the surmounting pyramid and dome of masonry, and the sculptured frieze and Ionic columns wrought on the faces of the square below, were the works of different periods, and that possibly they might have been tombs of antiquity, the primitive character of which had been changed by the subsequent addition of foreign ornaments.

It is probable that this monument really occupies the place of that mentioned to have been set up by him whose name it bears. "Now Absalom in his life-time had taken and reared up for himself a pillar, which is in the King's Dale: for he said, I have no son to keep my name in remembrance; and he called the pillar after his own name, and it is called unto this day Absalom's Place."* Josephus, in relating the same circumstance, calls the pillar a marble one; he fixes its distance as two furlongs from Jerusalem, and says it was named "Absalom's Hand." †

Some doubts have existed, whether this valley of Jehoshaphat was the King's Dale here spoken

* 2 Sam. xviii. 18.

† Joseph. Ant. Jud. l. vii. c. 10. s. 3.

of; but this seems highly probable, as the Valley of Shaveh, which is the King's Dale, where Abram was met by the king of Sodom, and blessed by Melchizedeck, king of Salem, after his defeat and slaughter of the confederated kings *, was certainly very near to the city of the Jebusites. The distance of two furlongs from Jerusalem, as given to the situation of the pillar in the King's Dale, would depend on what part of the city it was measured from, but it could not in any case be far from the truth; and the term *marble* may be indefinitely used to imply any fine stone, and that of *pillar*, to express a lofty monument. The entrance in the upper part of the cone leads to a room which is described to be much above the level of the ground on the outside, and to have niches in the sides of †it, which can leave no doubt as to its having been a place of sepulchre, more particularly as there are other tombs excavated out of the same rocks close by.

The terms "immense," "prodigious," "enormous," &c. ‡ when applied to these monuments, are certainly misplaced, as their measurements, which are given, will best prove; nor is the assertion, that this last is "altogether very beautiful," any more appropriate. In their

* Genesis, xiv. 17, 18.
† Pococke, vol. ii. p. 23.
‡ Dr. Clarke, vol. ii. p. 590

dimensions, they are among the smallest of ancient tombs; in design, they are unchaste and barbarous; nor is there any thing of "a marvellous nature in their hewn chambers;" so that it is hardly true that their appearance alone, independently of every other consideration, denotes the former existence of a numerous, flourishing, and powerful people. *

From hence, we continued our way a little farther to the northward, and arrived at the sepulchre of the Virgin. This has a building over it, with a pretty front, although the sculptured Greek ornaments in marble are not in harmony with the pointed arched door of entrance. It is approached by a paved court, and stands near a raised way, leading from the foot of the Mount of Olives over the brook Kedron. We descended into this grotto by a handsome flight of marble steps, about fifty in number, and of a noble breadth. The entrance into this vaulted cavern is certainly fine; and notwithstand the paltry lamps, and tawdry ornaments of ostriches' eggs, &c. seen among them, the grand descent, and the lofty arched roof of masonry above, produce an imposing effect. Nearly midway down, are two arched recesses in the sides, that on the right containing the ashes of

* Dr. Clarke, vol. ii. p. 592.

St. Anna, the mother of Mary, and that on the left the dust of Joseph, her husband.

Reaching the bottom of the stairs, we were shown, at an altar to the right, the tomb of the Holy Virgin herself, who, not having died at Jerusalem, was miraculouly transported either after her death by the apostles, according to the opinion of certain fathers of the church, whose authority the Christians of Jerusalem would think it presumption to deny. At this moment, it is contended that even the corruptible remains of her mortal corpse are not here; a resurrection of them having taken place, as the pious Chateaubriand relates. *

At this tomb, which is in the form of a simple bench cased with marble, the Greeks and Armenians say their mass by turns; close to it there is an humble altar for the Syrians; and on the left of the grotto, on going down, or opposite to these last described, is an altar of raised earth for the Copts, entirely destitute of furniture, lamps, pictures, or even a covering.

In the time of Chateaubriand, the Turks are said to have had a portion of the grotto, and the

* "St. Thomas ayant fait ouvrir le cercueil, on n'y trouva plus qu' une robe virginale, simple et pauvre vêtement de cette Reine de gloire que les anges avaient enlevée aux cieux." Vol. ii. p. 361.

tomb of Mary was then in the hands of the Catholics. At this moment the Turks have no portion of it, nor could we learn from the keepers of the place that they ever had. The tomb of the Virgin is no longer in the possession of the Catholics, having been bought out of their hands by the Greeks and Armenians. These, again, try to rival each other in the costly yet gaudy decorations of their separate altars, as well as to drive each other out, if possible, by intrigues and large payments to the Turks. Both parties, however, look down with sovereign contempt on the poor Syrians and Copts, whose altars are so inferior to their own in glitter and tinsel, but whose hearts, it is to be feared, from all accounts, are still filled with hatred, envy, and all uncharitableness toward their pompous and haughty superiors.

After quitting this sepulchre, we went to an adjoining grotto, thought to have been the scene of Christ's agony and bloody sweat. This is a small and rude cavern, supported by portions of the earth left in excavating it, and has now only two recesses or altars, with some humble crucifixes made from the wood of the olive-tree above. This is said to have been the tree under which Jesus wiped away the drops of blood, after coming out of this cool grotto at night; for the

even was nigh when he sat down to supper with his apostles.* This cave is in the hands of the Catholics; and though containing nothing worth the pains of taking away, is guarded by an iron-plated door, and a lock of such security, that even to remove the piece which covers the large key-hole, a smaller key is used in a preparatory lock attached to the greater one. The man who conducted us through this grotto was very much intoxicated; and all impressions of solemnity having been overcome either by the fumes of wine, or by the habit of showing the place to strangers, he did not scruple to utter the most profane jests on the sublime mystery for which this scene was celebrated.

We went from hence to the spot in which are enclosed eight olive-trees, built up about the roots, and thought to have existed in the time of Jesus, "so that the olives, and olive-stones, and oyl, which they produced, became," as Maundrell quaintly observes, "an excellent commodity in Spain." But the proof which he offers of their not being so ancient as is pretended (notwithstanding the difference of rent spoken of by Chateaubriand†, which proves only that the Turks *think* them to be as old as their conquest of the

* St. Matthew, xxvi. 20.

† Chateaubriand, vol. ii. p. 39.

country) is satisfactory. He says, "Josephus testifies, (lib. vii. de Bello. Jud. c. xv. and in other places,) that Titus, in his siege of Jerusalem, cut down all the trees within about one hundred furlongs of the city, and that the soldiers were forced to fetch wood so far, for making the mounts when they assaulted the Temple." *

From hence, the supposed gate of the Temple was pointed out to us, in the eastern wall of the city, it being still blocked up, from a belief among the Turks, that their destruction is to enter there; but the whole of this wall, as well as that which surrounds Jerusalem on the other sides, appeared to me of modern structure; although, if there be any part of the skirts of the city where the present walls may be thought to occupy the site of the ancient, it is certainly here.

A short distance from this, in the right-hand wall of the road, on ascending the hill, our guide approached a large stone, and kissing it with great fervour of devotion, assured us that it was from hence the Holy Virgin ascended to heaven. As a proof of this new fact, he pointed to a little indentation in the surface, and called it the mark of Our Lady's girdle, which fell

* Maundrell's Journey, p. 142.

from her waist as she mounted in the air. Of the girdle itself, he had never heard the fate; of the authority on which this story rested, he knew nothing, but believed it was in the Gospels; and he was so shocked at our not following the example he had set us, of kissing the holy impression, that he really doubted of our having faith in any thing.

Descending from hence, and turning to the southward, we came to the rock on which it is said the disciples, Peter and the two sons of Zebedee, slept, while their master retired to pray. Close by, is a small paved way, now inclosed, being from thirty to forty feet long, and three or four broad, where Judas is said to have betrayed the Son of Man with a kiss *; and not far from hence, is shown the rock from which Jesus predicted the destruction of the Temple of Jerusalem. Here, as he sat upon the Mount of Olives, that conspicuous building must have been full in sight on the Mount Moriah, opposite to him, the brook of Kedron, in the valley of Jehoshaphat, running between and at the foot of both these celebrated hills.

We crossed from hence over the southern brow of the Mount of Olives, and descending on its eastern side by a rugged and stony road, from which we

* St. Luke, xxii. 48.

had a view of part of the Dead Sea, lying deep in a vale, and hemmed in on the east by the high mountains of Arabia, we came, in about half an hour, to the village of Beit-Ania, or Bethany. It consists, at present, of only thirty or forty dwellings, but it is visited on account of a grotto there, which is called the Sepulchre of Lazarus. The building, called the House of Lazarus, is no longer distinguishable, but the supposed place of his interment is still shewn.

We descended into it by a flight of narrow steps, to the number of about twenty-five, and first reached a small square apartment, where there is an altar of earth, on which the Latin friars say mass twice in the year. Below this, on the left, we descended by three or four steps into a vaulted room, about eight or ten feet square, and of sufficient height to admit of our standing upright. This room was arched over with masonry; and the appearance of the whole, from the small door of entrance above, and the steps leading down to the two rooms below, was rather like the portion of some ancient dwelling than of a tomb. As, however, it is situated in Bethany, and the grave of Lazarus is said to have been a cave on which a stone lay*, it may

* St. John, xi. 38.

be thought to correspond to the description with much greater accuracy than many of the grottoes shewn about Jerusalem can pretend to. There were at this moment no Turks having an oratory in the place, nor was any thing demanded for our descent. The inhabitants of the village are chiefly Mohammedans, and amount, perhaps, to five or six hundred, for whose accommodation there is a neat little mosque, with a dome surmounted by the crescent.

From hence it took us more than half an hour, and that of the most fatiguing labour, to go out to the eastward, where we were led to see the spot on which Martha, the sister of Lazarus, met Jesus on his way from the desert beyond Jordan, eastward to Bethany.* This spot is now marked by a large stone, in the centre of a circular enclosure of smaller stones; and it was kissed most devoutly by our guide. The place is pointed out, only a few yards off, on which the house of the two sisters stood; but from the story itself, as related by St. John, it would rather appear that this was in the village of Bethany. With the guardians of the holy places at Jerusalem, however, convenience is often a powerful motive for crowding many sacred spots within a small space, that they may be visited with the greater ease, particularly when

* St John, xi. 20—30.

nothing but the spot itself is to be shown, and no remains are requisite to prove its identity.

From a part of this eminence, we had a sight of the river Jordan, as well as of the country beyond it. The river winds its course through a deep valley, until it discharges itself into the head of the Dead Sea to the southward, and the eastern view is bounded by an even range of high and woodless mountains, stretching as far as the eye can reach in a north and south direction, and thus cutting off the river and the sea from the wide wastes beyond. *

We now returned toward Jerusalem, and ascending the eastern side of the Mount of Olives, went by the road on which Jesus rode from Bethany and Bethpage into Jerusalem.

It was about two o'clock when we reached the summit of the Mount of Olives, on our return from Bethany. There is a mosque here, with a minareh rising from it, and I was desirous of ascending to its gallery for the sake of the view which it must command, but the keepers became enraged at the very proposal. We entered, however, into the lower court, where a small octagonal building, crowned with a dome,

* In describing the same view from hence, Benjamin of Tudela, calls the Dead Sea the Sea of Sodom, and the river Jordan the river of Sittim, which went through the plain as far as Mount Nebo. — Bergenon's Collection.

still remains as part of a large church, said to have been formerly erected there. Within this is shown a piece of rock with an impression in it, not much unlike, though far from exactly resembling, the foot of a man. This is maintained to be the print of Christ's left foot, when he ascended to heaven after his resurrection; and it is affirmed, that the print of the right foot was seen here also, but was taken away to ornament the mosque of Solomon, in the site of the Hebrew temple on Mount Moriah, from whence the Mohammedans insist that their prophet mounted up to heaven, as if in rivalship to the ascent of Christ. St. Luke is the only evangelist who speaks decidedly of this ascension, the others making the appearance of Jesus to have happened in different places; and this writer says, "And he led them out as far as to Bethany, and he lifted up his hands, and blessed them. And it came to pass, as he blessed them, that he was parted from them, and carried up into heaven." *

* St. Luke, xxiv. 50, 51.

The quality which rocks formerly possessed, of receiving impressions from the weight of men and of animals, seems to have been almost too general to render it even a rarity. The mark of Adam's foot on the peak of Ceylon, is visited by pilgrims of all classes; and, considering his reputed size, it is scarcely to be wondered at. The impression of the entire figure of Moses, is shown in the granite mountains of Horeb

The octagonal chapel, containing the relic described, has been ornamented on the outside with small marble pillars and sculptured capitals; but has now nothing within it except this rock, which serves for the altar of the Catholics, who perform mass here once a-year. They enjoy this exclusive privilege by the payment of a large sum to the Turks; and the Greeks, the Armenians, the Syrians, and the Copts, are

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and Sinai, when the rock became soft at the presumption of Moses, in wishing to see the face of God as he passed. The print of the foot of Mohammed's camel, when he was taken up, beast and all, by the angel Gabriel into heaven, is also shown on the same holy mountain; and considering that, according to Mohammedan belief, the animal was large enough to have one foot at Mecca, another on Damascus, a third on Cairo, and a fourth on Mount Sinai, the enormity of his weight might be almost sufficient to account for this also.* At Jerusalem, and in the other parts of the Holy Land, one can scarcely move a hundred yards without seeing marks of fingers, elbows, knees, and toes, as if imprinted in wax. At the two ascents made from hence, the Virgin drops her girdle from her waist, and our Saviour leaves the impression of both his feet. These are now widely separated, but at some future age it will, perhaps, be insisted on that they both occupy their original places. If those blind guides could but perceive the injury which they do to their own cause, by the propagation of such puerile stories, they would surely abandon them to their Mohammedan rivals in aid of their Koran, and suffer the simplicity of the Gospels to stand on its own basis alone.

* See Journal of a Prefetto of Egypt from Cairo to Mount Sinai, translated from the Italian by Lord Bishop Clayton, and attached to the octavo edition of Maundrell's Journey, 1810, p. 245.

obliged to content themselves with small altars of stone, for the same purpose, in the open court.

We saw here some Armenian visitors, among whom were several women; these, either from poverty or parsimony, refusing to pay the few paras demanded by the Turks, in whose custody the place remains, a quarrel arose, which approached to blows among the men, while the shrill voices of the women rather increased than quelled the tumult, by the abuse which they lavished on the unbelieving Arabs.

On leaving the summit of this hill, the spot was pointed out to us a little to the northward, where our Saviour taught his disciples the Lord's Prayer *; and descending the hill to the southward, we passed the ruins of a building which was called the Grotto of the Apostles, from an idea that they compiled their creed there. The cave of St. Pelagia was said to be a little above, in which the Virgin received three days' warning of her death from an angel; and, in fact, so many places had been already pointed out to us, and so many yet remained to be seen, that I began to be weary of dwelling on the particular details of them, and was glad to stretch my limbs on the grass, and abandon for a moment both the book and the pencil.

* St. Luke, xi. 1, 2.

Reposing beneath the shade of an olive-tree upon the brow of this hill, we enjoyed from hence a fine prospect of Jerusalem on the opposite one. This city occupies an irregular square of about two miles and a half in circumference. Its shortest apparent side, is that which faces the east, and in this is the supposed gate of the ancient Temple, now closed up for the reason before assigned, and the small projecting stone on which Mohammed is to sit when the world is to be assembled to judgment in the vale below. The southern side is exceedingly irregular, taking quite a zigzag direction; the south-west extreme being terminated by a mosque built over the supposed sepulchre of David, on the summit of Mount Zion. The form and exact direction of the western and northern walls are not distinctly seen from hence; but every part of this appears to be a modern work, and executed at the same time. The walls are flanked at irregular distances by square towers, and have battlements running all around on their summits, with loop-holes for arrows or musquetry close to the top. The walls appear to be about fifty feet in height, but are not surrounded by a ditch. The northern wall runs over slightly declining ground; the eastern wall runs straight along the brow of Mount Moriah, with the deep valley of Jehoshaphat below; the southern wall crosses

over the summit of the hill assumed as Mount Sion, with the vale of Hinnom at its feet; and the western wall runs along on more level ground, near the summit of the high and stony mountains over which we had first approached the town.

As the city is thus seated on the brow of one large hill, divided by name into several smaller hills, and the whole of these slope gently down towards the east, this view from the Mount of Olives, a position of greater height than that on which the highest part of the city stands, commands nearly the whole of it at once.

On the north, it is bounded by a level, and apparently fertile space, now covered with olive-trees, particularly near the north-east angle. On the south, the steep side of Mount Sion, and the Valley of Hinnom, both show patches of cultivation and little garden enclosures. On the west, the sterile summits of the hills there, barely lift their outlines above the dwellings. And on the east, the deep valley of Jehoshaphat, now at our feet, has some partial spots relieved by trees, though as forbidding in its general aspect as the Vale of Death could ever be desired to be by those who have chosen it for the place of their interment.

Within the walls of the city are seen, to the

north, crowded dwellings, remarkable in no respect, except being terraced by flat roofs, and generally built of stone. On the south are some gardens and vineyards, with the long red mosque of Al Sakhara, having two tiers of windows, a sloping roof, and a dark dome at one end, and the mosque of Sion on the Sepulchre of David, in the same quarter. On the west is seen the high square, castle, and palace of the same monarch, near the Bethlehem Gate. In the centre rise the two cupolas, of unequal form and size; the one blue, and the other white, covering the church of the Holy Sepulchre. Around, in different directions, are seen the minarehs of eight or ten mosques, amid an assemblage of about two thousand dwellings. And on the east is seated the great mosque of Al Harrem, or, as called by Christians, the Mosque of Solomon, from being supposed, with that of Al Sakhara near it, to occupy the site of the ancient temple of that splendid and luxurious king.

This mosque of Al Harrem is an octagonal building, with numerous windows, and surmounted by a dome, of the form of that of St. Paul's, in London, and about half the size. The whole stands in the centre of a large paved square, to which there are several entrances through arcades. Beyond these again is a large

open space, surrounding the walls of the inner court, and now displaying a carpet of verdure, interspersed with olive and cypress trees. The appearance of this edifice, with its courts and walls, produces on the whole a most imposing effect, and relieves in a great degree the dull monotony of the rest of the interior view of the city, of which it is by far the most prominent object, from the space which it occupies, and the commanding situation it enjoys.

After having at once reposed and gratified ourselves by a more undisturbed view of Jerusalem than we could have enjoyed from any other spot on our way, we resumed the labour of examining the remaining monuments without the walls. We first visited what are called the Sepulchres of the Prophets, close to the spot where we had halted. We descended through a circular hole, into an excavated cavern of some extent, cut with winding passages, and forming a kind of subterranean labyrinth. The superincumbent mass was supported by portions of the rock left in the form of walls and irregular pillars, apparently once stuccoed; and, from the niches still remaining visible in many places, we had no doubt of its having been once appropriated to sepulture; but whether any, or which of the prophets were interred here, even tradition

does not suggest, beyond the name which it bestows on the place. *

Descending from hence, to go to the western foot of the Mount of Olives, we left, at the distance of a few yards on our right, the spot from whence Jesus is said to have wept over Jerusalem: and continuing our way up the north-eastern brow of Mount Moriah, we came to the northern side of the city itself. Here we pursued our way in a north-westerly direction, through cultivated grounds, abounding in olive-trees; and passed a considerable number of excavations in the rocks, apparently ancient dwellings, and now used as such by the families of peasants, and as places of shelter for their cattle at night. In the course of our way, we did not see fewer than a hundred of these, including large and small, perfect and imperfect; when, after upwards of an hour's walk from the time of our leaving the Mount of Olives, we reached the caves called the Sepulchres of the Judges.

There are in all six of these tombs, into the

* The observations of Dr. Clarke, regarding this crypt, and the arguments used to prove it originally a place of pagan worship, appear to me judicious; and the use made of the authorities quoted to support the opinion of its being one of the high places built for Ashtoreth, Chemosh, and Milcom, is equally ingenious.

largest and most accessible of which we entered. It presented first a square court, hewn down on three sides of the rock, in front of the cave. From an outer chamber, entered by a broad door-way, we were led into other smaller chambers by narrow passages of entrance. In these there were arched recesses and benches, as if for receiving the bodies of the dead; and on one side of the innermost chamber we remarked a deep sarcophagus, hollowed out, but still attached to the wall, and now without a lid. Throughout this excavation, we found no appearance either of painting or sculpture.

From hence, we returned towards the city, in a southerly direction, and after traversing the most stony roads that could be well passed over, we reached, in half an hour, the tombs of the kings.

We entered, by an arched gate-way, into a large open court, hewn down on all sides out of the rock, to the depth of about fifteen feet, and forming a square of from thirty to forty paces. On the left of the court, on entering, is the portico of a cave, originally supported by columns, but now perfectly open. This portico is about forty feet broad by fifteen feet deep, and from eight to ten feet high, in its present state, the bottom not being visible from accumulated rubbish. The only ornament of sculpture seen on the exterior of this monument, is a frieze, in

which the most striking object is a pendant cluster of grapes, frequently repeated, and reminding me of our old Bible prints, representing the return of the spies with such a token from the promised land. Below this again, is another line of sculptured flowers and fruits, in a light and airy style; but both are much defaced by time, and still more injured by the breaking away of the outer surface of the rock.

The interior of the portico is entirely destitute of ornament; and instead of passing from it onward through a central door, as is usual, both in the ancient tombs here, and in most of those in Egypt, a small opening, through which it is now necessary to crawl, leads down from the left side, near the corner, to the apartments below. The first room into which we entered by this passage was about eighteen feet square, nearly filled with rubbish, and having one door-way leading from it on the right, but no corresponding one on the left, and two immediately opposite to the passage of entrance, making in all three doors which communicate with other chambers within. In each of these were smaller divisions for the reception of the dead, with benches and sarcophagi, niches of a triangular form for lamps above the tombs, and channels below to carry off water. From one of these inner chambers a flight of steps descended to an apartment below, where

was seen the lid of a violated sarcophagus, highly ornamented with sculptured flowers in relief. In most of these chambers were also seen fragments of the stone doors which closed the innermost sepulchres. They were of the same stone as the excavation itself, a coarse yellowish marble ; and were, in general, about the size of a common door in length and breadth, and three or four inches in thickness. They were pannelled by little mouldings, in two divisions, above and below, exactly in the way in which our modern doors are made in England ; and are said, in this particular, to resemble the pair of stone doors still hanging in the Pantheon at Rome.

The whole of this monument, both within and without, displays great care in the execution, and a regularity not often observable in the more ancient excavations of this nature. For myself, I should not conceive it to be of very high antiquity, either from its interior plan, or from its exterior ornaments. The observation of Maundrell, that none of the kings either of Israel or Judah were buried here, is sufficiently well-founded to prevent this being considered as a work of the Jewish monarchy * ; and the description of Hezekiah's interment has no local

* Maundrell, p. 102.

details from which one could safely infer that he was placed in this sepulchre, since the Chronicles say merely, "And Hezekiah slept with his fathers, and they buried him in the chiefest of the sepulchres of the sons of David: and all Judah, and the inhabitants of Jerusalem, did him honour at his death.*

The reasoning of M. Chateaubriand to prove this monument the tomb of Herod the Tetrarch, appears to me by no means sufficiently borne out by the premises to decide certainly † thereon; and even the theories of Pococke ‡, and Clarke §, are liable to some objections. Indeed, considering the changes of masters which Jerūsalem has suffered, and the consequent variation in the taste of its possessors, it is at this moment a matter of extreme difficulty to separate the monuments of high antiquity from those of a more modern age, or to decide what parts of their remains preserve their original form, and what parts have been subsequently altered or ornamented by later hands. This, however, is certain, that among all the monuments which we had this day visited in the environs of Jerusalem, and of which this is by far the largest, the most expensive, and the most interesting, there is not one which can be

* 2 Chronicles, xxxii. 33.
† Vol. ii. p. 105.
‡ Ibid. p. 20.
§ Ibid. p. 596.

called either "enormous" or "splendid," without the strangest abuse of these terms. *

In almost every part of Upper Egypt, there are grottoes, scarcely visited from their comparative insignificance, which are superior in de-

* As a proof that even those who are very pious may entertain contemptible opinions of the extent and riches of the Holy Land, a passage may be given here from an English pilgrim, who visited it about the year 1600. He concludes the account which he has given of the Holy City, with these words: "Thus have I described the city of Jerusalem as it is now built, with all the notable places therein, and near unto the same, and the country about it, by which comparisons you may well understand the situation of most of the places near unto it; and thereby you may perceive that it was but a small country, and a very little plot of ground which the Israelites possessed in the land of Canaan, which, as now, is a very barren country; for that within fifteen miles of Jerusalem, the country is wholly barren, and full of rocks, and stony; and unless it be about the plain of Jericho, I know not any part of the country at this present, that is fruitful." Thus far is a simple declaration of what the pilgrim witnessed. The reasons which he gives for the change, and the proofs which he adduces to show the utterly destitute state of its inhabitants through its barrenness, are too curious to be omitted. He continues: "What hath been in times past, I refer you to the declaration thereof made in the Holy Scriptures. My opinion is, that when it was fruitful, and a land that flowed with milk and honey, that then God blessed it, and that as then they followed his commandments; but now, being inhabited by infidels that profane the name of Christ, and live in all filthy and beastly manner, God curseth it, and so it is made barren; for it is so barren that I could get no bread when I came near unto it; for that one night as I lodged short of Jerusalem, at a place called in the Arabian tongue, Cuda Chenaleb, I sent a Moor to the house (not far

sign, richer in ornament, and costing more labour in execution, than any ancient monument in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem. The hewing out and transportation of the two obelisks at Alexandria, mere specks amid the numerous and splendid embellishments of Egypt, would have required more time and expence than the excavation of any cavern near this city. The tombs in the mountains at Siout, an inconsiderable settlement, those still more numerous at Eliethias, the grottoes of El Kourno, and, in short, a hundred others that could be named as among the commonest monuments of that country, are all superior to those here. If such be the case, the pyramids of Memphis, the palace of Abydos, the

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from where we had pitched our tents) to get some bread, and he brought me word that there was no bread there to be had, and that the man of that house did never eat bread in all his life, but only dried dates, nor any of his household; whereby you may partly perceive the barrenness of the country at this day, only, as I suppose, by the curse that God layeth upon the same. For that they use the sin of Sodom and Gomorrah very much in that country, whereby the poor Christians who inhabit therein are glad to marry their daughters at twelve years of age unto Christians, lest the Turks should ravish them. And, to conclude, there is not that sin in the world, but it is used there among those infidels that now inhabit therein; and yet it is called Terra Sancta, and, in the Arabian tongue, Cuthea, which is, the Holy Land, bearing the name only, and no more; for all holiness is clean banished from thence by those thieves, filthy Turks, and infidels, that inhabit the same."—Harleian Miscellany, vol. iii. p. 341.

sanctuary of Tentyra, the colossal statues and sphinxes, the tombs and temples of Thebes, and the less-known, but still more beautiful and surprising monuments of Nubia, with the gigantic grottoes of Girshé, Meshgarah, and Ipsamboul, so eclipse in splendour and in size the poor remains which are found around this far-famed capital of Judea, that, on comparing them together, one cannot help applying to the latter the terms of "paltry" and "insignificant." All these ideas of beauty and of greatness, are, however, quite relative: what would be thought "superb" and "magnificent" in one age and country, would be scarcely esteemed in another; and what would be beheld with wonder by one person, a second would regard with indifference.

On quitting these sepulchres of the kings, we continued to approach the city in a southerly direction, and after nearly half an hour's walk, came to an enclosure at the foot of a large quarry, in which is shown a grotto and a recess in the rock, said to have been the bed of the prophet Jeremiah. Within the same enclosure, there is a spot thought to be that on which he wrote his Lamentations over the Holy City. This place is in possession of the Turks, who hold it in extreme veneration; but, as it was shut up, we could only look down into it from above.

It was just sun-set when we reached the Damascus gate, to return to the convent; and having performed the whole of this day's excursion on foot, over the most rocky and rugged roads that could be trodden, besides crawling into all the grottoes we had seen, we were sufficiently fatigued to render repose exceedingly desirable.

CHAP. XII.

EXCURSION TO BETHLEHEM, AND THE CAVE OF THE NATIVITY.

January 22. Having procured Turkish dresses for myself and my servant, we to-day put off our European clothes, which were sent to the young Frenchman, whom I had seen in distress at Jaffa; and after these duties of the morning were passed through, I accompanied Mr. Bankes in returning a visit to the Abyssinian prince who had visited us two days before. We found him lodged in the Coptic Convent, which includes an assemblage of small rooms around a large paved court adjoining to the Holy Sepulchre. In the centre of this, one of the cupolas of the Sepulchre elevated itself above the houses, and on one side of it were the ruined arched recesses of some ancient religious building.

We ascended to one of the upper rooms, through a miserable entrance, and were received in a small apartment possessing no other furniture than a dirty mat and ragged carpet; and having no aperture for the admission of light

except the door-way. Being seated on the floor, and surrounded by the Prince Moosa, and five or six Abyssinians of his retinue, we were served with large tumblers of rakhee, some dried figs, and a pipe; a cooking kettle, placed on a charcoal fire, in an earthen pan, stood in the centre of the room, and occupied the attention of our host in those intervals when conversation failed, and these were pretty frequent, as he himself spoke Arabic but imperfectly, and Mr. Bankes's interpreter, an Italian renegado, still more so.

After a few minutes, the females of the family were sent for; and presently there appeared a young Abyssinian girl of handsome features, but very dark complexion, attended by two elderly women, who appeared to be her servants or assistants. These all seated themselves, and as the young girl placed herself beside me, and spoke Arabic sufficiently well to make herself understood, we soon became familiar. Some Amharie books of devotion were now shewn to us, very finely written on vellum, and adorned with paintings of the evangelists, saints, &c. drawn in the rudest manner, and very gaudily coloured. Then followed some Abyssinian paintings of horses in all their various furniture and trappings, and other pictures, displaying the costume of the country.

While these particularly attracted the attention

of Mr. Bankes, as an admirer of the arts, and a lover of new and curious information of every kind, I was somewhat surprised to find the young lady on my left approaching close to me; and presently a pressure of my hand, as it rested on the carpet to support me in leaning forward while looking at the drawings, intimated the wishes and intentions of the lady. I turned round to observe her, without being noticed, and certain signs still further intimated the desire of a present.

Conversation now grew louder; and, as we had taken with us some trifling articles to offer to these people on our visit, according to the known custom of their country, I gave her a small huswife, furnished with needles, thread, &c., the only article I possessed that was at all adapted to the purpose. It was received with many thanks and kisses of the hand. But this was not all; advantage was taken of the general attention being occupied, to ask me whether I had nothing more that I could bestow. I hesitated, and talked of things at home. A reply was made: "I love you more than I can express; and if you will give me a large present, come hither to-morrow, and you shall be my favourite."

I thought it impossible that I could have rightly understood her meaning; but though

repeated a second time in a lower voice, the proposition was still the same. I asked her what she desired. She replied, that she must first see the things I possessed, before she could fix her choice; and altercations followed in whispers, like the bargaining for a contraband commodity in the presence of revenue-officers. It was to me the most satisfactory elucidation of all that had been said on the cupidity and profligacy of female Abyssinian manners.

In the inquisitive conversation which publicly passed among us all, we learnt from Moosa, that he himself was the son of one of the great men at the Court of Gondar; but this seemed extremely doubtful, from his hesitating both as to the name and the titles of his father. He said, that, two years since, he had left Abyssinia in charge of two young ladies whom he insisted were "Binteen el Wizeer," or two daughters of the prime-minister there. They were accompanied, he said, by five or six men, and the two women whom we now saw; and the object of their voyage was a visit to the Sepulchre of the Messiah, and the holy places at Jerusalem. They intended, as he stated, after completing their pilgrimage at the ensuing Easter, to return again to Abyssinia, by way of the Red Sea, as they came. Some few months after their arrival at Jerusalem, the elder of the girls had died, and the younger

only now remained ; the names of the two being Miriam and Martha, names which are common in Abyssinia, from those of the sister favourites of the Saviour.

After a long conversation with this Abyssinian party, and a parting request from the young lady that I would call again on the morrow, we left them, to return to the convent. Passing in our way through a dark passage, under an arched gate, we observed a large court above, on the stairs of which were several good-looking females, who seemed to invite us up to join them. Accordingly, turning back, we all ascended, and were treated with a familiarity which we did not well comprehend, until it was told us that this house had been left as a legacy by some pious Christian to the friars of our convent, and that they suffered it to be occupied rent-free by families, on very improper conditions. This being told us by a Copht, we conceived it to be a scandal, on account of a difference in their faith ; but it was confirmed to us by other corroborating testimonies, and we returned to our quarters surprised at the disclosures of the short ramble of to-day.

23d. It being a rainy morning, our departure was put off again, and the former part of the day was passed in examining the drawings which Mr. Bankes had made of the monuments in Egypt and Nubia, which were all particularly

fine, and, as far I could recollect, perfectly accurate. He had added to these, also, during his long stay at Jerusalem, plans and views of all the tombs in the neighbourhood, and drawings of other interesting subjects; the whole together forming a collection of at least two hundred in number, and highly valuable.

24th. Some causes still continuing to detain Mr. Bankes here, I devoted the day to an excursion on horseback, and set out early in the morning for Beit-Lahhm, the Bethlehem of the Scriptures. We quitted Jerusalem at the gate near the Palace of David, and passing over the Valley of Hinnom, crossed the hill opposite to Sion on the south, the top of which is slightly cultivated with olives trees, and some patches of corn land.

From hence we continued our way towards the Convent of St. Elias, which lies at about an hour's distance from the city. It is a Greek sanctuary; and the priests of that order, not to be behind the Latins, who show in so many places the print of the hands, and feet, and toes, and fingers of the Messiah, show here the impression of St. Elias's *whole body* in a hard stone. This rock served him as a couch; but, by yielding to his sacred weight, it became to him, one would think, so like a feather-bed, as to take away all the merit of penance and mortification,

which sleeping on a bed of stone would seem to imply.

In the route between Jerusalem and St. Elias, other sacred spots were pointed out; but I was more particularly struck with the appearance of several small and detached square towers in the midst of vine-lands, said by our guide to be used as watch-towers, from which watchmen looked out to guard the produce of the lands themselves, even in the present day. This may explain, I think, the use and intention of that mentioned in the gospel: "A certain man planted a vine-yard, and set an hedge about it, and digged a place for the wine-fat, and built a tower, and let it out to husbandmen, and went into a far country." *

From the Convent of St. Elias, we descended into the Valley of Rephaim, mentioned by Josephus, and celebrated as the theatre of David's victories over the Philistines. † Like all the country about Jerusalem, it is stony, and scantily furnished with patches of light red soil.

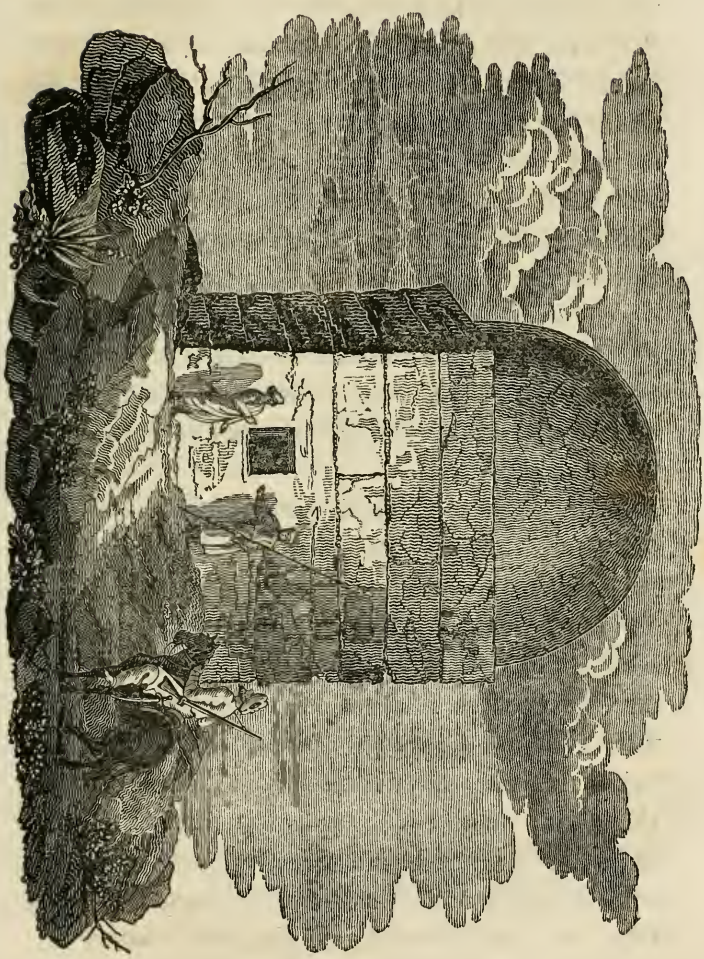
In the way, on the right, at a little distance from the road, is shown the reputed tomb of Rachel, which we turned off to enter. This may be near the spot of Rachel's interment, as it is not far from Ephrath, and may correspond well enough with the place assigned for her sepul-

* St. Mark, xii. 1. † Antiq. Jud. lib. iv. chap. 10.

chre by Moses, who says, in describing her death in child-birth of Benjamin, " And Rachel died, and was buried in the way to Ephrath, which is Bethlehem. And Jacob set a pillar upon her grave; that is the pillar of Rachel's grave unto this day." * Instead of a pillar, the spot is now covered by a Mohammedan building, resembling in its exterior the tombs of saints and sheikhs in Arabia and Egypt, being small, square, and surmounted by a dome.

We entered it on the south side, by an aperture through which it was difficult to crawl, as it has no door-way, and found on the inside a square mass of masonry in the centre, built up from the floor nearly to the roof, and of such a size as to leave barely a narrow passage for walking around it. It is plastered with white stucco on the outer surface, and is sufficiently large and high to enclose within it any ancient pillar that might have been found on the grave of Rachel. This central mass is certainly different from any thing that I have ever observed in Arabian tombs; and it struck me on the spot, as by no means improbable, that its intention might have

* Genesis, xxxv. 19, 20.—Benjamin of Tudela describes the tomb of Rachel as being half a league from Bethlehem, built in a cross-way of twelve stones, according to the number of the children of Jacob, and covered by a dome supported by four columns. Upon the stones of this building the Jews who passed wrote their names.



TOMB OF RACHEL BETWEEN JERUSALEM AND BETHLEHEM.

originally been to enclose either a pillar, or fragment of one, which tradition had pointed out as the pillar of Rachel's grave; and that as the place is held in equal veneration by Jews, by Christians, and by Mohammedans, the last, as lords of the country, might have subsequently built the present structure over it in their own style, and plastered the high square pillar within. Around the interior face of the walls is an arched recess on each side, and over every part of the stucco are written and engraved a profusion of names in Hebrew, Arabic, and Roman characters, the first executed in curious devices, as if a sort of Abracadabra.

After a ride of about two hours nearly in a southern direction, we entered Bethlehem, which is agreeably situated on a rising ground, and has an air of cleanliness and comfort not commonly seen in the villages of the East. Almost the first novelty that struck me on entering the place was, that the Christian inhabitants, from there being scarcely any Mohammedans living near them, wear white and gay-coloured turbans with impunity; whereas in Jerusalem, no Christian, subject to the Porte, dares to wear any other than blue, without risk of losing his head.

This place is among the oldest of those mentioned in the history of the Jews, and that too

by the name which it still retains. It was also called Ephrath, which has been interpreted "The Fruitful;" and its name of Bethlehem, in Hebrew, is said to signify "The House of Bread;" though "Beitlahem," as it is pronounced by the Arabs on the spot, is literally the "House of Flesh." It is noticed in the history of Rachel, the daughter of Laban, "who died and was buried in the way to Ephrath, which is Bethlehem."

In the remarkable story of the Levite and his concubine, related in the Book of Judges, it is called Beth-lehem-Judah, from its being within the limits of that tribe, to distinguish it from Bethlehem-Zabulon; and Josephus, in telling the same tale, with some variations, says, that this Levite was a man of a vulgar family, who dwelt in Bethlehem, and married a beautiful wife from that town, which was a place belonging to the tribe of Judah. It was also frequently called the city of David, because that monarch, as well as his father Jesse, was born there.

The admirable Eclogue of Ruth has its scene laid in Bethlehem, after the return of the family of Elimelech from the land of Moab, bringing with them from thence this young Moabitess, who became the wife of Boaz, and gave birth to

Obed, the father of Jesse, the father of David, from whom the Messiah was to come.

Cellarius has industriously collected all the authorities for fixing with accuracy its geographical position, and distance from Jerusalem, which is about six miles in nearly a southerly * direction. As one of the principal sanctuaries of the Holy Land, mention of it occurs in all the pilgrimages of Christians there; so that little could be said on it that would be perfectly new. Yet this scarcely lessened our natural desire to see such objects as were usually visited.

Being conducted to the convent, we entered by a small wicket through a large iron-cased door, and came into a fine open hall, supported by a double avenue of twenty-four marble columns on each side, of the Corinthian order, making in all forty-eight, in four rows of twelve each. These were two feet six inches in diameter, and eighteen feet in height, and were of chaste execution, and in excellent preservation. This is the nave of the great church built by St. Helena, on the spot where the early Christians had made the sanctuary of the birth-place of their Saviour, and where Hadrian had subsequently placed on its ruins a statue of Adonis.

* Cellarius, Geog. Antiq. lib. iii. c. 13. p. 342.

From hence we were led through the inner parts of the church, now cut off from this fine nave in consequence of the possession of the peculiar sanctuaries being constantly disputed by the Greeks, the Armenians, and the Catholics. No part of the interior is either chaste or handsome, though some portion of the Armenian altars have great richness amid the fantastic profusion of their ornaments.

We were conducted by dark passages to the grottoes below; among which was that of St. Jerome, who passed the greater part of his life here, and of whom there is a wretched picture, representing him nearly naked, in the act of writing; that of Santa Paula, and Santa Eustasia, the Roman mother and daughter, descendants of Gracchus and Scipio; that of the chapel of the Innocents; of Saint Eusebius of Cremona; and of Joseph, the husband of the Virgin Mary. In all these, the paintings are of the meanest kind; but that which represents the Roman mother and daughter in death, has something melancholy and impressive in it.

The principal sanctuary of Bethlehem is the Grotto of the Nativity, the descent to which is by twenty or thirty steps, all below the general level of the church. These lead down narrow and winding passages, so as to render it altogether certain that this never could have been

the stable of an inn, without some material alterations in its construction; since, at the present moment, it is difficult even for men to descend into it, and cattle could not do so at all, by any passage that I could perceive.

Here, however, we were shown a cave, very splendidly ornamented with a marble pavement, recesses decorated with sculpture and painting, and a double row of massy silver lamps of exquisite workmanship, furnished by the patrons of either sect who may share the possession of the altars. Among the paintings, a concert of angels celebrating the birth of Jesus, seemed to possess great merit; though there was something strange to my eye, in observing one of these angels, whose wings were expanded, seated on a cloud with a huge violoncello between his legs, and the bow in his right hand. Another, of the eastern Magi adoring the Infant Saviour, and angels bearing censers of incense, was equally beautiful. Beneath this last is a marble altar, and still below it, a semicircular recess, ornamented at the back with some fine sculpture, on white marble, and hung around with large silver lamps, kept constantly burning. Here is shown, upon the pavement, an inlaid star, which is said to mark the spot of the Saviour's birth, and to lie immediately underneath that point of the heavens where the star of the east became fixed in

its course, to direct the wise men to the object of their search. *

The facts of this grotto having been a stable, and the place on which the star is seen, a manger, seem improbable, chiefly from the difficulty of access to it in its present state; but if the means of entrance were formerly more open and enlarged, the subterranean excavation might as easily have been attached to an inn, as to any other kind of building. As such, it might have been occasionally appropriated to the reception of guests, particularly on an occasion like that described by St. Luke, who says of Mary, "And she brought forth her first-born son, and wrapped him in swaddling-clothes, and laid him in a manger, because there was no room for them in the inn."

The possession of this spot, once so mean and insignificant, is now disputed by contending sects of Christians, with the same rage and animosity as that which marks their struggle for the command of the Holy Sepulchre. During the last Christmas only, at the celebration of the Feast of the Nativity, at which Mr. Bankes was

* Some contend that this was the spot on which the star fell from the firmament, and sunk into the earth; and there was formerly a corresponding place shown between Bethlehem and Jerusalem, where the wise men found the star after it was lost, close to the place where the angel took up Habbakuk by the hair of the head to carry meat to Daniel in the lion's den. — Harleian Misc. vol. iii. p. 331.

present, a battle took place, in which several of the combatants were wounded, and others severely beaten; and on the preceding year, the privilege of saying mass at the altar on that particular day, had been fought for at the door of the sanctuary itself, with drawn swords. *

Returning from these grottoes up to the convent, we ascended the terrace, and enjoyed from thence a commanding view of the surrounding country. Among the more interesting objects, were pointed out the tower of St. Paul †, but why

* Dr. Clarke, in speaking of the sanctuary at Bethlehem, says, "The degrading superstitions maintained by all the monkish establishments in the Holy Land, excite pain and disgust. The Turks use the monastery here when they travel this way, as they would a common caravansary, making the church both a dormitory and a tavern, while they remain. Neither is the sanctuary more polluted by the presence of these Moslems, than by a set of men, whose grovelling understandings have sunk so low as to vilify the sacred name of Christianity, by the grossest outrages upon human intellect. In the pavement of the church, a hole, formerly used to carry off water, is exhibited as the place where the star fell, and sunk into the earth, after conducting the Magi to the cave of the nativity. A list of fifty other things of this nature might be added, if either the patience of the author or of the reader were equal to the detail." Vol. ii. p. 622.

† The tower of Edar, as some say, was near this place, where Jacob fed his flock after his return from Mesopotamia, and where Reuben defiled his father's concubine. Pococke, vol. ii. p. 40. "And Israel journeyed and spread his tent beyond the tower of Edar; and it came to pass, when Israel dwelt in that land, that Reuben went and lay with Bilhah, his father's concubine." Gen. xxxv. 21, 22.

so called, I could not learn, as it seemed to be a watch-tower in a vineyard, like those already described between Jerusalem and St. Elias. We saw also near this, preserved in a square enclosure, now bearing olive-trees, the field in which the shepherds fed their flocks when the angels announced to them the birth of Christ. A conical hill was also pointed out to us, called the mountain of the Franks, because a party of the crusaders defended themselves on it forty years after the taking of Jerusalem.*

The valleys on the east of Bethlehem are more fertile and better cultivated than the hills around Jerusalem, and the town itself has an appearance of great activity for a mere agricultural settlement. It is seated on the north-eastern brow of a hill, and is nearly as large as Nazareth, being

* This place seems to agree with the situation of Beth-haccerem, mentioned by Jeremiah as a proper place for a beacon, when the children of Benjamin were to sound the trumpet in Tekoa, particularly when considering what St. Jerome says on the passage in question: "O ye children of Benjamin, gather yourselves to flee out of the midst of Jerusalem, and blow the trumpet in Tekoa, and set up a sign of fire in Beth-haccerem; for evil appeareth out of the north, and great destruction." Jeremiah, vi. 1. This hill was laid out in terraces, and had fortifications at the top, with walls and ditches. It was supplied with water by aqueducts from the cisterns of Solomon, and has now ruins of a church and other buildings at its foot. Pococke, vol. ii. pt. i. p. 42.

thought to contain from a thousand to fifteen hundred inhabitants, who are almost wholly Christians. The men are robust and well-made, and the women are among the fairest and handsomest that I had yet seen in Palestine. There is said to be here, as at Jerusalem, an accommodating disposition on the part of the friars towards an establishment for female poor. Several anecdotes were mentioned to me of connivance on the part of husbands, and the questions which I put to some of the members of the convent, rather strengthened than destroyed this opinion, but nothing fell beneath my actual observation. *

The superior of the convent had very kindly prepared for me a refreshment of fruit and wine; and while I partook of it, the same song of lamentation which I had listened to at Jerusalem, was

* Pococke observed in his time, that the Christians at Jerusalem, Bethlehem, St. John's, and Nazareth, were worse than any other Christians. "I was informed," says he, "that the women of Bethlehem are very good, whereas those at Jerusalem are worse than the men, who are generally better there than at the other places. This may be occasioned by the great converse which the women have there with those of their own sex, who go thither as pilgrims; and I will not venture to say whether too great a familiarity with those places in which the sacred mysteries of our redemption were acted, may not be a cause to take off from the reverence and awe which they should have for them, and lessen the influence they ought to have on their conduct." Vol. ii. pt. i. p. 40.

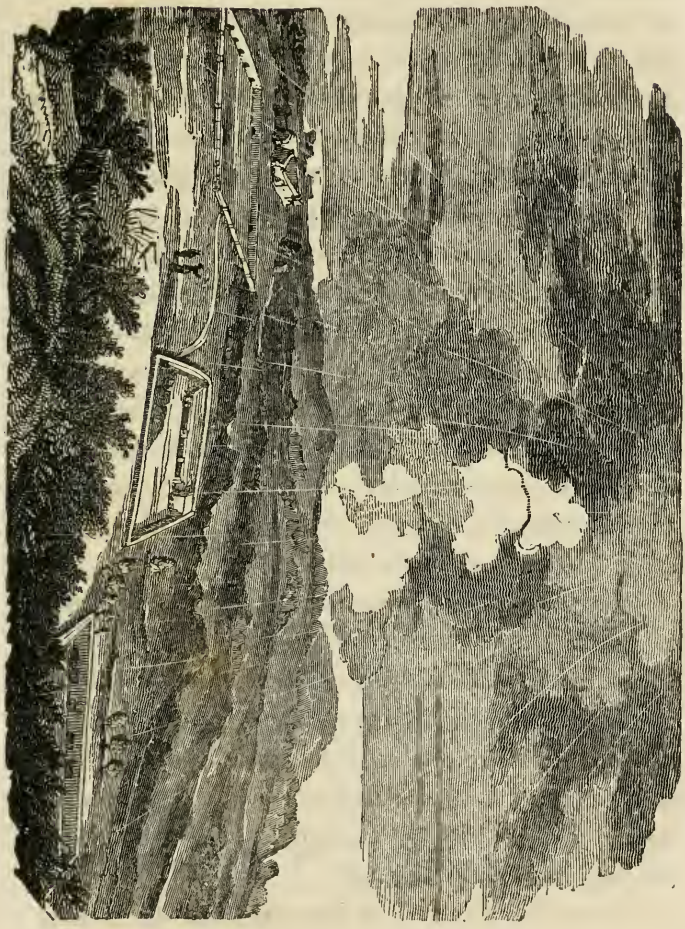
repeated to me here : every one seemed to think that his being sent to the Holy Land was a species of banishment, and every one exclaimed, " When will the happy day come, in which we may hope to return again to Europe?" I asked them why they did not quit a life which was so full of mortification? None among them replied, that their sufferings were borne for religion's sake ; but one said that he was poor and without another calling ; a second said, that if his former friends had been alive, his last effort would have been to escape from hence ; and most of them lamented the rigorous exaction of obedience, and the impossibility of quitting the church without danger of excommunication.

CHAP. XIII.

VISIT TO THE CISTERNS OF SOLOMON.

We left Bethlehem about ten o'clock, and directing our course still to the southward, inclining easterly, through a stony valley, and over the barest and most rugged hills, we came, in about an hour, to the large reservoirs, which are called the Cisterns of Solomon. It is thought that these pools were the work of that king, and that they are the places alluded to by him, when he says, "I made me great works: I builded me houses: I planted me vineyards: I made me gardens and orchards, and I planted trees in them of all kinds of fruits: I made me pools of water to water therewith the wood that bringeth forth trees."

Maundrell's description of them is so accurate, that nothing can be added to it. They are seated in a valley, and are three in number, each occupying a different level, and placed in a right line with each other, so that the waters of the one may descend into the next below it. Their figure is quadrangular; the first, or southern one being



THE CISTERNS OF SOLOMON, NEAR JERUSALEM.

about three hundred feet long, the second four hundred, and the third five hundred, the breadth of each being about two hundred feet. They are all lined with masonry, and descended to by narrow flights of steps at one of the corners ; the whole depth when empty, not exceeding twenty or thirty feet. They were, at the present moment, all dry ; but though they may be considered useful works in so barren and destitute a country as Judea, yet they are hardly to be reckoned among the splendid monuments of a luxurious sovereign's wealth or power, since there are many of the Hindoo tanks in Bombay, the works of private individuals, in a mere commercial settlement, which are much more elegant in their design, and more expensive in their construction than any of these.

Near these reservoirs there are two small fountains, of whose waters we drank and thought them good. These are said to have originally supplied the cisterns through subterranean aqueducts, but they are now fallen into decay from neglect, and merely serve as a watering-place for cattle, and a washing stream for the females of the neighbouring country.

To the northward of the cisterns, the valley closed in so as to form a narrow ravine at the foot of the two opposite hills, and this is pretended to be the place meant by the enamoured mo-

narch, when he exclaims, "A garden enclosed is my sister, my spouse, a spring shut up, a fountain sealed;" and to be alluded to also by the spouse who had ravished his heart with one chain of her neck, when she replies, "Awake, O! north wind; and come, thou south; blow upon my garden, that the spices thereof may flow out. Let my beloved come into his garden, and eat his pleasant * fruits." Whether these luxurious and enamoured descriptions be not wholly figurative might admit, however, of some question.

We quitted the cisterns about noon, seeing nothing of the aqueduct by which the waters were said to have been conveyed from this place to Jerusalem †, and passed, at a few yards' dis-

* Canticles, iv. 12.; ix. 16.

This place is thought to be the Etham, very pleasant for fine gardens, and abounding in rivulets of water, mentioned by Josephus as the favourite morning-ride of Solomon the king. The heights above it have been for this reason thought to be the Etam of the Scriptures, to which Samson retired after he had burned the corn of the Philistines (Judges, xv. 8.), particularly as it is said that Rehoboam built Bethlehem, Etam, and Tekoa, this being in the neighbourhood of both these places. Pococke has observed, that an aqueduct from these cisterns to Jerusalem would be useless, as they could always be cut off by an enemy; and regarding the site, as one fit for a house of pleasure, he has remarked, that it is a very bad situation, and there is no prospect from it, but of the dismal hills on the other side.—Pococke, vol. ii. part i. p. 43.

† Joseph. Antiq. Jud. l. viii. c. 7. 3.

tance, an old Saracen castle. It is a square building of considerable size, having battlements on its walls, and Arabic inscriptions over its door of entrance. The masonry of this edifice appeared to be of the same age as the lining of the reservoirs themselves; and I was induced to think the whole rather the work of the Mohammedan conquerors of Judea than of the Jewish monarch, who, in constructing gardens and vineyards, and works of magnificence and pleasure, could not have selected a more unfit spot in all the country around his capital, than this stony valley for such a purpose *. The preservation of the water of these fountains, as a work of public utility, and military importance, in a country whose possession was disputed, might, however, have made both the cisterns, and the castle to guard them, a work worthy the attention of the Saracens of a later age. Within this enclosure is now a small village, consisting only of a few Arab families of the Mohammedan faith, who are rather shepherds than cultivators.

From hence we returned by another route to within sight of Bethlehem, when we turned off to the westward, on our way to the village of Ain Kareem. Our road was still over a bare and rocky country, in some places almost impassable on horseback; and on our way we passed the village of Beit Jallah, inhabited by Chris-

tians. Soon afterwards we came to a spring, in which it is pretended that Philip baptized the Ethiopian eunuch, who had the charge of Queen Candace's treasure, and was coming from Gaza to Jerusalem to worship. The whole of the country here was such, however, that *chariots* could certainly not travel through it * ; nor are there at this moment any visible marks of better roads in ancient days than exist now across those mountains. This spring indeed must always have been distant from the more frequented and great public roads on which the eunuch is represented as travelling.

The country, for some miles before our reaching the village, bore marks of a higher state of cultivation than the lands near Jerusalem ; and besides the olive in abundance, we saw large portions of the land appropriated to the culture of vines. There was a part of the road which was called " Belled-el Melhhe," or the country of salt, for which our guide could assign no reason. It was the more remarkable that such a name should be given to it, inasmuch as on this spot were grown all the roses which supplied the sanctuaries and altars both of Jerusalem and of the holy places in its neighbourhood.

* Acts of the Apostles, viii. 26. et seq.

We passed also, in the course of our route, the village of Beit Safafa, where the inhabitants consist of both Mohammedans and Christians; but from the ignorance and stupidity of our guide, our road was altogether "a wandering," and not followed in the common track.

Our approach to the village of Ain Kareem, was from the eastward, and over a steep descent, where we were obliged to dismount, and go down on foot. We proceeded to the Latin convent of St. Giovanni, which occupies nearly the centre of the town, and here we were well received. After the refreshment of a cup of coffee, we walked on the terrace, to enjoy a more commanding view of the surrounding scenery.

The village is seated in the hollow of a deep valley, and has on all sides some portions of cultivated and garden land. To the north is seen the village of Kalioon, through which we passed on our road from Jaffa to Jerusalem. From thence to this village there is a deep ravine, through which runs the torrent or brook of Elah, giving its name to the valley.* It was here that David is thought to have gathered the pebbles with which he slew the great Goliath, as the valley of Elah was the scene of that event. The village of Kalioon stands on the west, and Ain Kareem on the east of this stream,

* See 1 Samuel, xvii.

the bed of which was now dry. Mudden, or Modin, a small town on the summit of the south-western hills, was seen from hence, and pointed out to us as being the spot which contained the tombs of the heroical Maccabees.* The house and grotto of Elizabeth were also shewn to us, on the opposite southern hill, but we did not visit them.

After enjoying the evening air of this delicious climate, beneath the clearest sky, in half an hour's walk upon the terrace, we descended into the convent, which appeared to be superior in comfort and arrangement to that of Jerusalem, and equal to that of Nazareth.

The church is one of the most simply beautiful throughout the Holy Land. As the friars

* The magnificence of the sepulchres of these Maccabees may be judged of from the description given of them in the apocryphal books. "Then sent Simon, and took the bones of Jonathan his brother, and buried them in Modin, the city of his fathers. And all Israel made great lamentation for him, and bewailed him many days. Simon also built a monument upon the sepulchre of his father and his brethren, and raised it aloft to the sight, with hewn stone behind and before. Moreover, he set up seven pyramids, one against another, for his father, and his mother, and his four brethren. And in these he made cunning devices, about the which he set great pillars, and upon the pillars he made all their armour for a perpetual memory, and by the armour ships carved, that they might be seen of all that sail on the sea. This is the sepulchre which he made at Modin, and it standeth yet unto this day."—Macc. xiii. 25—30.

here are all Spaniards, it partakes more of the style of that nation than of any other, in its ornaments. It is a small oblong square building, with three aisles, the central one of which is crowned by a dome; and the great altar to which it leads, is adorned by some excellent pictures of the Spanish school. One of these, representing Zacharias, the father of John, in his priestly robes before the altar, is particularly fine, and many of the others are superior to those generally seen in this country.

In the recess at the end of the aisle on the right hand, is a smaller altar, and near it a large stone, caged in a grating, famed for some miraculous quality, but I could not learn what, as our old conductor mumbled indistinct Spanish, so that I could scarcely understand one word in five of his discourse.

At the end of the aisle, on the left, is the chief sanctuary of the church, being the grotto in which it is thought that Elizabeth was delivered of John the Baptist, to whom the convent is dedicated. The descent to it is by a flight of marble steps, and the walls are hung round with crimson damask. The altar itself is ornamented with beautiful sculpture in white marble; and the general appearance of the recess resembles that of the Grotto of the Nativity, at Bethlehem, being, however, far more beautiful. A fine

painting represents the Visitation of Elizabeth, and the whole of the church is illuminated by a profusion of rich and massy silver lamps, producing a chaste yet imposing effect.

The Mosaic pavement of this church is justly admired; and such portions of it as were shewn to us by lifting up the carpets that now covered it, displayed a work of most expensive labour. On the whole, I was more pleased with this village, on account of its situation, the comfort of its convent, and the simplicity of beauty observable in its church, than with any other place that I had yet visited in Palestine.

Leaving this place for Jerusalem, we set out about four o'clock, keeping a north-easterly course, and ascending bare and rugged hills, until we reached their summit in about half an hour, the scenery of the country from every point of view being as uninteresting as could be conceived.

Soon afterwards, we passed on our right the Greek convent of the Holy Cross, a walled building, standing in a little valley, relieved by the presence of olive-trees, and other wood. Maundrell, in assigning the reason of its name and foundation, most satirically says, "It is because that here is the earth, that nourished the root, that bore the tree, that yielded the timber, that made the cross." We did not enter here to

be numbered among the "much veryer stocks than the stump of the tree itself," as he justly calls those who fall down to worship the hole in which it stood, but pushed on with all possible speed; yet, though we reached the gates within five minutes after sun-set, we had the mortification to find them closed.

It now became necessary that the warders should obtain the express permission of the governor himself to open them for us, which, after our waiting about half an hour in the cold air, was granted, by the mere mention of my being an English traveller. As I had never yet personally seen the governor, nor even signified to him my arrival in a formal way, it could only have been from the high consideration which our nation enjoys in the East, that such a favour was thus bestowed on a perfect stranger, without a present of any kind being either given or promised to insure it.

Plan of The Ancient Jerusalem [illegible] from the Earliest Authorities

EXPLANATION

1 The Strong Stairs
2 The Strong House
3 The higher open Fish Pool
4 Agrippas Palace
5 Caiphas House
6 Davids Tomb
7 Wall of Jerusalem Stairs
8 The Street Bethezur
9 Davids Wall to encompass
10 Mount Zion
11 The Street Bethacarian
12 The Fountain Gate
13 The Dunghill Gate
14 The Tower
15 Ditto
16 Mount Zion
17 The Gate of Benjamin
18 The Queens House
19 The House of Lebanon Wood
20 Solomons House.
21 The Horse Gate
22 The Water Gate
23 The Fountain of Rogel
24 Isaiah's Sepulchre
25 Solomon's Pond
26 The Baths of Siloe
27 The Court of the Gentiles
28 The Courts of Israel
29 The Inner Court
30 Fort Antonia.
31 The Second Gate
32 The Sheep Pool
33 The Beast Market
34 The Money Chamber
35 The Herd Gate
36 The Tower of Emath
37 The Wall of the Old City Salem
38 Joseph's House.
39 The Lake of Savanner
40 The Tower of Psephine
41 The Wall of Ælius Adrianus
42 The Valley of Tyrocopon
43 Hellens Palace
44 The Lake within two Walls
45 The lower Fish Pond
46 The Pool of Amadas
47 The Gate of Ephraim
48 Fish Gate
49 Benjamins lower Gate
50 The Tombs of the Kings
51 The Wall of Hezekiah
52 The Place of Prayer
53 The Gate of the Valley
54 The Old Gate
55 Christs Sepulchre
56 The Palace Guard 57 Coenopolis

Sacred Cubits — Modern Studiums — Ancient Studiums

Half an Italian Leaguer

Engraved by [illegible]

London Published by [illegible] Hurst Rees Orme & Brown Paternoster Row August 1821

CHAP. XIV.

EXAMINATION OF THE INTERIOR OF JERUSALEM.

January 25th. We began to prepare for our departure to-day, but new obstacles arose to retard us. Mr. Bankes preferred using hired horses for his journey, but in the present state of discord and agitation throughout the country, no one could be prevailed on to lend us animals for an excursion beyond the mere vicinity of the city.

The Arab, whose son Mr. Bankes had released from prison, being well acquainted with the country east of the Jordan, offered to take us to Tiberias by that route, on condition of our purchasing horses; and, as he assured us that he could procure men from the Bedouin tribes in the way, who would secure our safe passage through their territories, we were of opinion that we could not do better than accept his offer.

He accordingly set out to seek for horses among his own people, from whom we might get them better and cheaper than in town; as well as to procure a man from the tribe of Zaliane, on the other side of the river, to add to our escort.

Having therefore another day of leisure, I passed it in a visit to most of the remarkable places within the city, beginning first with the Latin convent in which we lodged.

This is a large irregular building, with courts and galleries within, and some small spaces of garden-land without, the whole being so enclosed as to form a safe retreat in time of intestine trouble or commotion. It stands near the south-west angle of the city, on a sloping ground, and is entered from a hilly street by a large iron-ased door, beneath an overhanging building, which darkens the passage, and gives an air of mystery and gloom to the whole. The way beyond leads to a small open paved court below, and other still darker passages lead from this on the right to the first flight of stairs. Ascending these, a range of galleries, winding in various directions, leads to the private apartments and domestic offices of the convent; and courts beyond, and terraces above, afford sufficient space for agreeable walks in the morning and evening, and offer a commanding view of all Jerusalem and the country around.

This edifice is said to be capable of entertaining, commodiously, a hundred persons; and from what I myself saw of its numerous chambers, I should have thought it might lodge even a larger number. The Superior and Procurator

have each his suite of apartments, conveniently furnished, besides which there is a public room of reception for visitors, which is crowned by a dome, and serves also for the library of the convent.

The friars have their separate rooms, furnished with a bed and bedding, a table, wash-bason and jug, a lamp, a crucifix, and a chair, all at the expense of the church, to which they add such other conveniences as they may desire from their own funds. As they are of the Franciscan order, they are under a vow of perpetual poverty, and live professedly by alms, so that they can nominally possess no property individually; but this does not practically prevent their appropriating presents to the purchase of what may be called mere domestic comforts.

The convent of Jerusalem is called, "Il Convento della Terra Santa," by way of distinction, and is at the head of all the religious establishments of the Catholic faith throughout the Holy Land. The Superior is immediately dependent on the Pope, but the inferior members are sent from Naples, from Sicily, and from the south of Spain indiscriminately, being all members of the church of Rome.

The funds of the institution are supplied from that capital chiefly; but, during the late war, these supplies were interrupted, and they then

subsisted on the charitable donations of their flock here. Legacies, however, are frequently left to them by the devout in Europe, and large sums are sent to them by the monarchs of that quarter. The present king of Spain is extolled as being exceedingly liberal, and is said to give always double the amount solicited of him, when its appropriation is to the Terra Santa; and most of the friars here being of that nation, constantly laud his bounty.

We were somewhat surprised at being informed that the Prince Regent of England had extended his liberality to this long-forgotten land, for the first time, during the last year, when a secretary of our ambassador at Constantinople was sent down to Jerusalem with fifteen hundred pounds to the guardians of the Holy Sepulchre, as a present. The secretary's reception, however, was not of the most flattering kind, as they told him that the King of Spain had just before sent them about six thousand pounds sterling; and although they always treated the English well, on account of the liberal payment which they were sure to receive from them, yet they never scrupled to say that they were not Christians, calling them either Lutherans, or free-thinkers, or atheists, as might most readily occur, and firmly believing that they had not among them either the Scriptures, the Paternoster, or the Creed.

There are at present in the convent, eighty-eight persons, and these are all fed from the same table. There is therefore a purser, a baker, a cook, a steward, and their respective assistants, as in a large ship. The stated quantity of food is apportioned to every man, and no one can demand more than his allowance. The days of fast are also regularly observed, and all proceeds in established order. The bread, the wine, and the vegetables of the convent are excellent, and these are at all times allowed without restriction. Meat is rather scarce and dear, fish is not generally to be procured; and poultry is used but sparingly. Rice and oil are among the great articles of consumption, and fire-wood is said to be among the dearest of all.

The friars, on coming from Europe, have their passage and travelling expenses paid; and on entering here they must bow implicit obedience to their superior, on pain of excommunication. Their time of service is generally fixed on setting out, either for three, or five, or seven years. When this period has expired, if they desire to return, the superior cannot detain them; but he is not bound to furnish them with the means of going home. If they remain longer than the fixed period, it is at the discretion of the superior; but if he insists on their going back, the full charge of the passage-

money by ship must be furnished from the general fund. During their stay here, they all receive an equal portion of food, and are clothed once in two years; their habit being an under garment, and outer cloak of dark brown cloth, with the white knotted cord of St. Francis, to flog themselves into discipline. Medicines are also furnished by the convent when needed, but no money is ever given to any of them, so that if they possess any, it must be from the charities of others.

Attached to the convent are two dragomans or interpreters, from Constantinople, both of whom are Christians; two janissaries or guards, both Mohammedans, an Arab muleteer, a door-keeper, and several inferior servants, all of whom are Arab Christians; and each of these has a fixed salary allowed him.

The whole arrangement within this establishment seems fitted for ultimate economy and long duration. All the apartments, the galleries, the courts, and the terraces, are paved with stone. There are no less than twenty-two wells of excellent water within the walls, and all these are grated with iron at the top, and worked with strong buckets and iron chains fitted to wear for centuries.

The inferior Catholic convents, throughout Palestine and Syria, are subject to this of Jerusa-

lem. They are supplied from its funds, whenever the voluntary contributions of the flock over which they preside fall short; and all appointments and changes of station among the friars throughout the country are entirely directed by the procuratore generale of the Holy City; so that constant intrigues are practised to keep well with this chief, the convent resembling, in this respect, a sort of ecclesiastical court, or the head-quarters of a hierarchical camp.

The mode of life pursued by the friars is a mixture of indolence and exertion, at intervals; and to them it is certainly not a happy one. They generally retire to sleep at eight o'clock, and are obliged to rise again at half-past eleven, to attend the midnight mass. At one they again lie down, and are all stirring at five, the morning-hour of service throughout the Holy Land. Coffee is made for them at this hour; and at ten they take an early dinner, after which they sleep until past noon. Several services are to be attended by some portion of the whole, in stated turns, throughout the day; as the small hand-bell of call is rung through the cloisters at almost every hour. On days of public feasts, every one is obliged to attend; and in the processions of the community to the holy places,

nothing but illness can justify absence ; so that, on the whole, they are sufficiently occupied.

In such intervals as they possess, however, nothing is done. Not a book is looked into by an individual of the convent ; and it will scarcely be believed, that not a map, even of the Holy Land, could be found in their library. They either sun themselves alone in some corner of the court or terrace, or lean over the walls of the galleries to regard what is going on in the courts below.

After sunset they all meet at supper in the common hall. The furniture of this hall is plain, but substantial ; the table-linen is coarse, but clean ; and the table-service is all of pewter, including even the drinking-vessels. There appeared to me to be less of content, or union among them, than in any body of men that I had ever seen, who were necessarily compelled to live together ; and throughout the whole number, while I remember to have heard more than twenty complain of the curse of banishment to the Holy Land, the privations to which they were subject, and their longing desire to return to Europe, I did not hear from even one of them a single expression of resignation, of the joy of suffering for religion's sake, of that calm acquiescence in the will of God, or of self-con-

gratulation on being so happy as to live and die near their Saviour's tomb, which has been so falsely pictured of them. *

The church of the convent, which was the last object shown to me, is not remarkable either for size or beauty; and its embellishments are rather mean than splendid, though it is considered to be the principal church in Palestine. It is furnished with a sufficient number of gaudy altars, gilded candlesticks, censers, images, flowers, and pictures, to inspire devotion in those who constantly attend it; and it has a fine altar,

* Là vivent des religieux Chrétiens, que rien ne peut forcer à abandonner le tombeau de Jésus-Christ, ni spoliations, ni mauvais traitemens, ni menaces de la mort. Leur cantiques retentissent, nuit et jour, autour du Saint Sépulcre. Dépouillés le matin par un gouverneur Turc, le soir les retrouve au pied du Calvaire, priant au lieu où Jésus-Christ souffrit pour le salut des hommes. Leur front est serein, leur bouche riante. Ils reçoivent l'étranger avec joie. Sans forces, et sans soldats, ils protègent des villages entiers contre l'iniquité. Pressé par le bâton et le sabre, les femmes, les enfans, les troupeaux, se réfugient dans les cloîtres de ces solitaires. Qui empêche la méchante armée de poursuivre sa proie, et de renverser d'aussi foibles remparts? La charité des moines: ils se privent des dernières ressources de la vie pour racheter leurs supplians, Turcs, Arabes, Grecs, Chrétiens schismatiques; tous se jettent sous la protection de quelques pauvres religieux, qui ne peuvent se défendre eux-mêmes. C'est ici qu' il faut reconnoître, avec Bossuet, "que les mains levées vers le ciel enfoncent plus de bataillons que de mains armées de javelots." Itinéraire de Paris à Jérusalem, cinquième partie, tome ii. p. 178.

and an organ, played on with tolerable skill by one of their members.

On quitting the Latin convent, we went to the Greek church, which is situated on the left of the street leading to the Bethlehem gate. We descended to it by steps, so that it is partly subterranean ; but it is so small and mean, that I could not conceive it to be the best place of worship of that sect here, until I learned that the Greeks bestowed all their wealth in the decoration of the Holy Sepulchre, and the other sanctuaries which they possessed in places consecrated by some sacred event, and that this, as merely a church, was consequently neglected.

From hence we passed by the house of Uriah, the pool of Bathsheba, and the palace of David ; in the street beyond which was shown the place, said to be that at which Christ appeared to Mary Magdalen and the other Mary, after his resurrection, when he cried to them, " All hail !" and they held him by the feet and worshipped him. *

Continuing through this street, which is bounded on the right by the southern wall of the city, and is the cleanest, most spacious, and altogether the best in Jerusalem, we reached the

* St. Matthew, xxviii. 9.

Armenian convent on our left. We entered here, and found Turkish guards seated at the door, who took our pistols from us before we went in, and who were evidently placed there as police-officers to preserve order. There was an air of neatness and comfort about this convent which was superior to any thing I had seen throughout the city; and the tranquillity, the cleanliness, and the cheerful aspect of the place, seemed to be all in harmony with each other.

This convent, with its church and gardens, occupies the whole of that part of the supposed Mount Sion which is within the city, the southern walls going directly across its summit, and consequently excluding at least one half of it. The establishment is spacious, and well provided with every comfort for the accommodation of pilgrims, as the Armenians are compelled to receive and maintain all the worshippers of their sect during their stay in Jerusalem, which is not the case with any other of the Christian churches. The funds of this convent, though there are neither rich public bodies, nor devout sovereign princes to contribute to them, are said to be superior to all others here, and every thing belonging to their establishment confirms the report; so that their devotees must be more wealthy, or their adherents more numerous, or the rich traders of their nation more devout, than those

of the European Christians, to support such funds.

The church itself, is said to be built on the spot where James, the brother of John, was killed by the sword, when Herod the king stretched forth his hands to vex certain of the church. * We entered it by passing through an open paved court, and the general effect of a first view, was as gorgeous and imposing as could be imagined. The church, though small, is of a lofty height, and crowned by a central dome, and being entirely free of pews or stalls of any description, looks considerably larger than it really is. The walls are every where covered with pictures, executed in the worst taste; yet, from the mere profusion of their numbers, and the gaiety of their colouring, they produce on the whole an agreeable effect. The pillars, both of the church and the offices of the sacristy, as well as the portals of the door leading to it, and the inner walls, are all cased with porcelain tiles, painted in blue, with crosses and other sacred devices. The Mosaic pavement is the most beautiful of its kind, and appeared to me to be of better execution than that at the convent of St. John at Ain Kareem, or even the great church of the knights at Malta. The

* Acts of the Apostles, xii. 1, 2.

whole is carefully covered with rich Turkey carpets, excepting only a small space before the great altar.

In a small recess on the left, is shown the sanctuary of St. James, thought to be on the spot on which he was beheaded; and this is ornamented with sculpture in white marble, with massy silver lamps, and gilding, and painting, producing altogether a surprising richness of effect. The door which leads to this, is, however, still more beautiful, and is composed entirely of tortoise-shell, mother-of-pearl, gold, and silver, all so exquisitely inlaid and intermixed with each other, that one knows not whether most to admire the costliness of the materials, or the surprising skill of the workmanship.

The three altars which front the door of entrance, and stand at the northern end of the church, are all as splendid as wealth and profusion could make them. Their loftiness alone produces the most imposing impression; and the massy vessels, and crosses, and mitres, and candlesticks of gold and silver, with here and there the introduction of flowers, and gems, and precious stones, remind one of the splendour of Hiram and Solomon, in the building and furniture of the great Temple, which was dedicated to the God of Israel not far from this same spot.

Quitting the church, we pursued our course eastward through this street, which, from the quiet and cleanliness observed in it, as well as its spacious breadth, seemed rather like the unfrequented court of some great building, than a public thoroughfare. In our way, we were shown the supposed house of Annas, the father-in-law of Caiaphas, the high-priest, where Peter tremblingly denied to the damsel who kept the door, all knowledge of Him unto whom he had sworn to remain faithful, even to imprisonment and * death.

From thence, we passed out of the Sion gate, and came upon the southern brow of the mount, where is a burying-ground of the Catholics, with many of their tombs bearing Latin inscriptions, and other tombs of the Armenians with inscriptions in their character and language. The house of Caiaphas, the high priest, was pointed out on a spot where a chapel of the Armenians stood in Maundrell's time; but our guide, who was a sufficiently zealous Catholic to hate this sect, told us he knew nothing of such a chapel now. He seemed delighted, too, in denying the fact of their possessing here the stone that secured the door of our Saviour's sepulchre, although the same author mentions it, and says,

* Luke, xxii. 33., and John, xviii. 17.

"This stone was a long time kept in the church of the sepulchre, but the Armenians, not long since, stole it from thence by a stratagem, and conveyed it to this place." * This house was now closed, so that we could not enter it, any more than the mosque which stands close by on the ground where Christ instituted his last supper. We were shown also the well at which the Apostles divided to go abroad and preach the Gospel; the place of the Virgin's death; the spot where a Jew obstructed her corpse on its way to the grave, for which his hand was instantly withered; and the grotto in which Peter wept for having denied his master; all fixed on as good tradition as a thousand other scenes of inferior events here.

I was particularly anxious to find the large vaults "built of huge firm stone, and sustained with tall pillars, consisting each of one single stone, and two yards in diameter," as described by Maundrell.† With his accustomed minuteness of detail, he gives their situation so accurately, that we could not well have missed them in our search, and they would have been highly interesting monuments of the Jewish age, if, as he supposes, they were constructed to enlarge the

* Maundrell, p. 134.

† Journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem, p. 135. 8vo.

area of the Temple, as mentioned by Josephus *; more particularly, as nothing indisputably of Hebrew workmanship is elsewhere found throughout all the city or its environs. But our guide, after finding that his arguments of their insignificance, founded on the idea that nothing sacred had been done there, were not sufficient to destroy our wish of seeing them, at last flatly insisted that no such place existed, and, compelled as we were to follow his *ipse-dixit*, or lose him altogether by an affront, we were obliged to yield to his superior judgment.

Continuing along by the walls toward the south-east angle of the city, we observed several immensely large stones, used in the masonry, one of which measured twenty feet in length by eight in depth, and was, no doubt, of a corresponding thickness. If any part of the original wall of Jerusalem remains, which is highly uncertain, it would seem to be in the foundations here; first, as the wall itself just excludes the valley of Jehoshaphat, which was always without the city; and next, as it extends beyond the site of the great Temple of Solomon, which was originally within it. It is not impossible, however, that from the ruins, both of the old walls, and of the Temple itself, these large blocks might have been preserved, and worked into

* Ant. Jud. lib. xv. c. ult.

the more modern enclosure of the Saracens on the spot. *

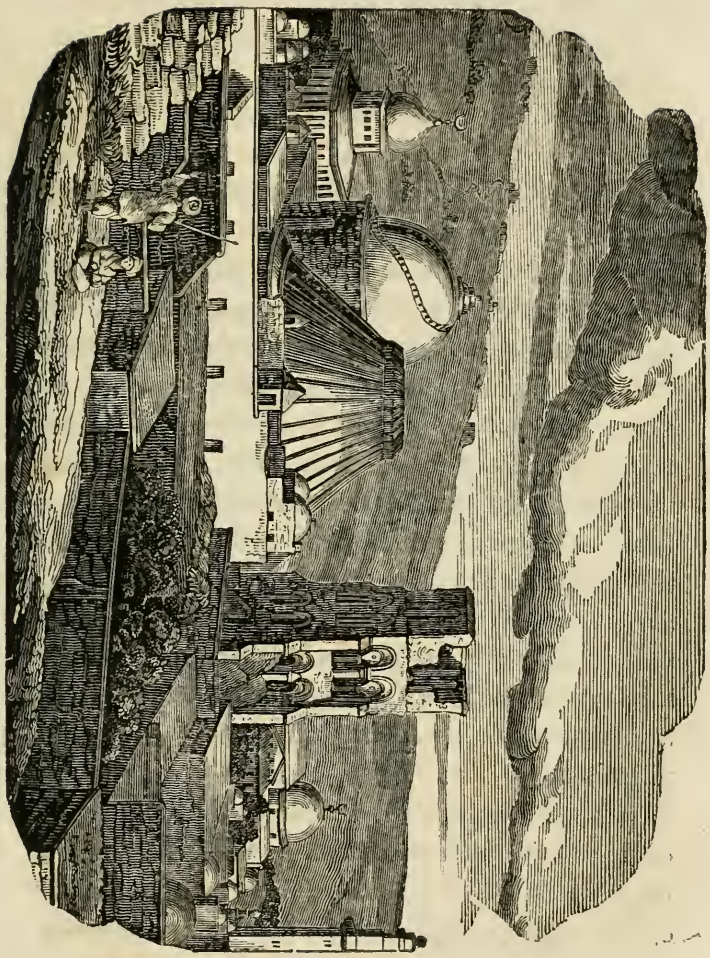
We returned from hence by the way that we came, observing the walls to be from forty to fifty feet high in their extreme, but more frequently thirty, and no where a hundred, as stated by Chateaubriand. We re-entered the city at the Sion gate, which is arched, and has an Arabic inscription over it, and turning down a little on the right, we came into the quarter of the town inhabited by the Jews. We met here a number of that nation, conversing always in Hebrew. There was an appearance of poverty, and a seeming love of concealment, in the seclusion of their humble dwellings; and they themselves were marked by the same peculiarities of dress and feature as all the other Jews that I had seen throughout the East.

From hence we turned into the bazars, which

* Benjamin of Tudela tells a long story of some labourers, who were going to repair the wall of Sion by order of the Patriarch there, as it had lately fallen down, and that they discovered the sepulchre of the House of David, with this king, as well as Solomon, and others of the Chiefs of Israel and Judah, in great state; but a sudden burst of wind, and a voice heard to warn them to be gone, so alarmed them, that they fled, and were confined afterwards to their bed with the fright. The place was then closed, and for ever afterwards forbidden to be violated, as the voice of heaven seemed to command it to be respected and hallowed.—Bergeron's Collection.

were narrow, dark, and crowded. They had been originally well built in right lines, and were also well paved below, and arched over with stone roofs, leaving square apertures for the admission of light and air from above. Their arrangement into shops and benches resembled those of Cairo; but the whole bore marks of neglect and decay, though they appeared to be well furnished with most of the necessaries of life.

We at length reached the gate of entrance to the great mosque of Solomon, which is said to occupy the site of the Jewish temple; but, being known as Christians, we were not suffered to enter it. Its appearance from without has been already described, as viewed from the Mount of Olives; and it loses nothing of its grandeur or beauty by a nearer approach. The spacious paved courts, the flights of steps and surrounding arcades, the dark tall cypress-trees and running fountains, and the large octagonal body of the mosque, with its surmounting dome, produce altogether the finest effect, and increase the desire to enter its forbidden walls. It is said to contain some columns of the precious marbles within, but we could obtain no account of its interior to be depended on. The details which Chateaubriand has collected from the writers which he cites are highly interesting,



EXTERIOR VIEW OF THE DOMES AND TOWER OF THE HOLY SEPULCHRE AT JERUSALEM.

and his observations apparently well-founded and just.

From the great mosque of Solomon, or from its outer gate, beyond which we dared not enter, and to which our guide accompanied us with reluctance, we were taken to the palace of Pilate. It is now a Turkish residence, and stands near to the way in which Christ was led from thence to Calvary, to be crucified. Here was pointed out to us the spot on which Pilate presented Jesus to the people, declaring he could find no guilt in him; the place on which he fainted under the weight of the cross, and where his virgin mother swooned also at the sight; the spot where St. Veronica gave him her handkerchief to wipe his forehead; and, lastly, where the soldiers compelled Simon of Cyrene to bear his cross. No one among the whole of these places has any particular monument to mark it; but all of them are carefully preserved by tradition, and by being constantly shown to pilgrims.

We were by this time close to the holy sepulchre, which had not been opened for several days, so that I had yet possessed no opportunity of entering it. Having intimated to our guide all that I had heard of the female establishment of the friars here, which was now close by, he at first denied the fact of its being of the nature

represented: by persisting, however, in the accuracy of my information, he at length relented into an admission of its possibility; and by the further influence of three piastres secretly put into his hand, he winked assent, and whispered to me that if I was desirous of it, he would conduct me thither. It was now near the evening, and my wish to get at the truth of this singular state of society, determined me to pursue this matter somewhat further: we accordingly went to the house, and while Gabriel, for that was my guardian angel's name, remained in the court below, I ascended the flight of winding-stairs which led from the dark street to an open upper court, and from thence again went by another flight to the gallery above, from which the private chambers led off. I was here met by an elderly man, of about fifty, who addressed me in Arabic, and I answered him that I was the English traveller, who, but a few days since, had called in company with my companion as we came from the Coptic convent. A door was instantly opened, and I was shown into a room where were mattresses and cushions on the floor, and some little children playing. Presently afterwards there appeared a woman of about thirty, the mother of these children, and the wife of the man who first received me, and who, having named her to me as "Sitte Tereza," retired. The children were also removed on various pre-

tences made to them, the door was closed, and we were perfectly alone.

All at once, a loud knocking interrupted the scene: the cunning Tereza exclaimed, "Min hoo?" (who is there?) and, placing her fingers on her lips, implied an injunction of silence. No reply was made; but a second knocking occasioned the door to be opened, and behold my Abyssinian friend, Moosa, appeared, stuttering with rage, and scarcely able to contain his anger. I begged him to sit down. Tereza was still more polite, and said, "My dear Sir, wont you take a glass of rakhee, or a pipe, or coffee?" The man replied, surlily, that he could not stay, insisted that he wanted me on urgent business, and declared that he would not stir from the door without taking me with him. I rose and followed him, when he chid me for the folly of the risk that I had exposed myself to. It appeared that, passing by below, he had seen Gabrielli at the door, and suspected me to be within, though this fellow insisted that he knew nothing of the man for whom he enquired.

Moosa, according to his own account, had come up to rescue me from the threatening danger. He then assured me that the system here, to all who were not members of the convent to which the house belonged, was to detain the stranger in the room as long as possible; and that, in the mean time, the husband, or the

brother, or some male friend concerned, personated a Turkish soldier by a change of dress, and pretending to have discovered a Christian violating the law, insisted upon the immediate payment of a large sum, or a watch, or some other equivalent, to bribe him to silence; so that the adventurer was sure of being fleeced of all he might possess about his person, and be drawn in, perhaps, for promises of more to purchase his escape, while the courtezan and her colleagues divided the spoil.

I had heard before of similar things being done by Turks in Constantinople, but could scarcely credit its existence here, under the circumstances related. Moosa insisted on the fact, and Gabrielli did not pretend to deny it, though he gave no active assent; for dissatisfaction at discovery had made him silent. What I myself witnessed, however, I have faithfully related; and what I myself heard I too firmly believed.

On our way to the convent, Moosa informed me that he was going to set out instantly for Jaffa, that Lady Hester Stanhope had sent for him with all possible urgency, and that he was impatient to be gone. As a last injunction, he bade me be kind to his charge, but conjured me never to set my foot again within the door of this brothel of the Catholic monks.

CHAP. XV.

VISIT TO CALVARY, AND THE TOMB OF CHRIST.

January 26th. It being signified to us, at the convent, that the Holy Sepulchre would be open for admission to-day, Mr. Bankes was desirous of visiting it, and I profited also by the same occasion to enter this celebrated monument.

We left the convent at an early hour, and constantly descending till we reached nearly the centre of the city, we arrived in about ten minutes at the low part of the town, in which the church stands. In the large open space before it were at least a hundred venders of relics, with their little stalls of chaplets, amulets, and crosses of coloured berries and mother-of-pearl, laid out before them; besides other sellers of glass-ware, bracelets, beads, and trinkets, suited to the taste of the various visitors, and equally unobjectionable to purchasers of every faith.

The front of the church presents a singular mixture of eastern and western architecture; but the combination, however contrary to the rigid chastity of taste, produces an agreeable

effect. Among the small columns of the front are two of verd-antique, and the aspect of the whole cannot be denied to possess a venerable richness, though it be destitute of regular beauty.

We entered by a large door, now thrown open, and found two Turkish guards, lolling on cushions, and smoking their long pipes, in a recess on our left. To these we were each obliged to pay thirty-three piastres, as the fee of admission demanded from all Europeans who are not furnished with the Sultan's firman. This document exempts the possessor of it from all such charges, but neither of us were thus provided. The Christian subjects of the Porte and European ecclesiastics pay only half this sum, and Mohammedans are admitted gratis whenever they are disposed to enter. The money being once paid, either by pilgrim or resident, ensures his free admission for the whole of the year, on days of public service only. If the door be opened on any other occasion, at the express desire of visitors, the original entrance-fee must be paid over again. The days of opening are regulated by the feasts of the different sects who occupy the church; and they, for the celebration of their stated services, are obliged to pay a fixed sum from their separate and peculiar funds; so that, on the whole, the receipts of the Turks from the devotion of the Christians here, may be

estimated to amount to several thousand pounds annually.

A great portion of the church having been destroyed by fire about nine years since, it has been recently restored; and both the architecture and decoration of the interior are said to be much inferior to those of the original edifice. The general plan of the whole building, and the arrangement of the holy stations which it contains, are, however, so exactly preserved, that the descriptions of the earliest visitors apply as correctly to its present as to its former state. The account which Chateaubriand has given from Deshayes, though written nearly two centuries ago, contains almost every thing that could be said upon the subject, and the few observations of that writer which follow the description referred to, on the style of architecture, &c. appear to be generally just.

The tombs of Godefroy de Bouillon, and of Baudouin, his brother, which drew forth the enthusiastic apostrophe of that writer to the ashes of his heroic countrymen, have been spitefully destroyed by their rivals the Greeks, so that not a vestige of them remains to mark even the spot whereon they stood.

Having visited all the stations, so often enumerated in a hundred books of pilgrimage, from the stone of unction near the entrance, to the

top of Calvary on which the cross was elevated, in the regular order of their succession, we remained another hour within to examine more at leisure the different parts of the whole, and to witness the strange scenes that were transacting at one and the same moment, in different parts of the church.

The Corinthian columns of fine marble which formerly adorned the interior, being destroyed by the late fire, the dome is now supported by tall and slender square pillars of masonry, plastered on the outside, and placed so thickly together as to produce the worst effect. The meanness of every thing about the architecture of the central dome, and of the whole rotunda which surrounds the sepulchre itself, can only be exceeded indeed by the wretched taste of its painted decorations. Mr. Bankes observed, that he knew of nothing to which he could aptly compare it, but to a poor and paltry French theatre; and, for myself, the nearest models to which I could liken it, were the painted country-houses of the Turks, in what is called the true Constantinople taste, and which might be light and flowery enough for garden summer-houses, but is strangely misplaced in a sanctuary of devotion, or in adorning the tomb of the Deity.

Among the inferior objects which attracted

our notice, were, first, the capitals of two large pillars, evidently very ancient, and of an order differing from any that we had before seen. These capitals reminded us of the pomegranates and network which are enumerated among the ornaments of the Temple. They are now placed on short thick shafts, and serve to support the roof of a grotto, in which the holy cross is said to have been found by St. Helena; the place where she sat to view the workmen employed in the excavation being shown close by. It is by no means improbable but that these capitals belonged originally to some ancient Jewish building, and that they might have been selected from among a heap of other ruins to be applied to their present purpose; but there is not even a tradition regarding their origin.

In another part of the church, we were shown two round holes cut in the rock, and descending to a sort of a grotto beneath. One of these holes was considerably larger than the other, and the use made of them is this. The Greek pilgrims, who are sufficiently meagre to try the experiment with some hope of success, go down through the large hole, and come up through the small one, in which, if they succeed, though at the risk of being bruised and losing their skin, they are thought to be in a fit state for

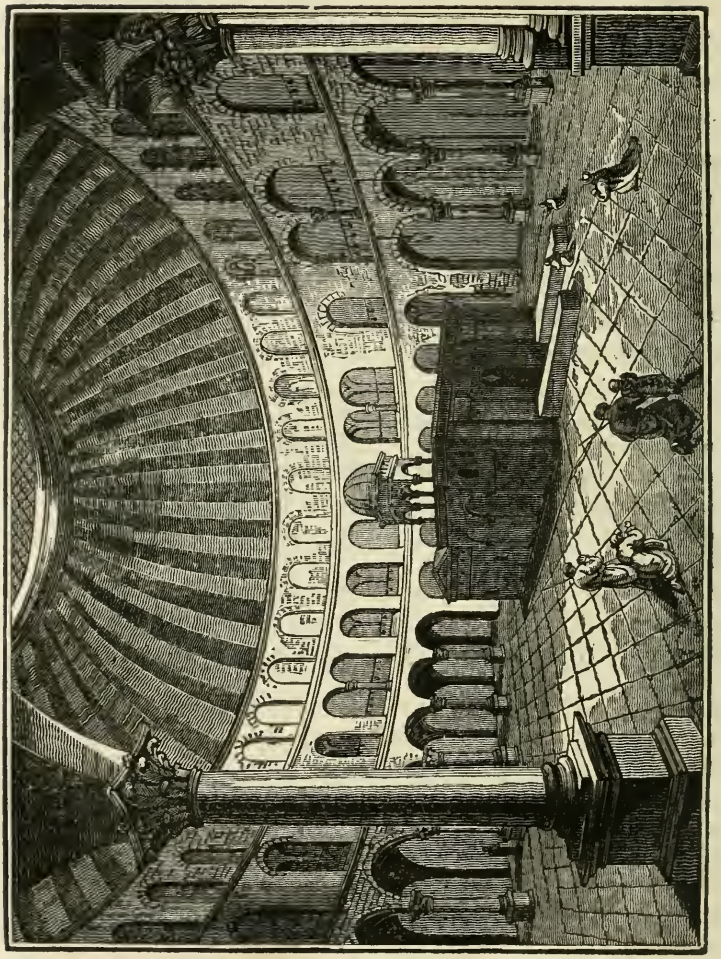
heaven, and to be secure of its enjoyment if they happen to grow no fatter. *

After passing these holes, and going beyond the Coptic chapel, where a solitary old priest was singing his service at the altar, we entered into a dark grotto, where were several appearances of ancient sepulchres hewn in the rock; and though some of them were very small, perhaps for children, they seemed to remove all doubt of the ground itself having been used as a place of burial, at a very early age.

As the last and most important monument

* The corpulent friars of Europe seem not to admit this maxim of leanness being a passport to heaven, if one might judge from their pride in a full round belly. Yet Christians are not peculiar in their indulgence of that idea. In the great Mosque of Solomon, according to Père Roger, as cited by Chateaubriand, a similar mode of trial is practised by the devout. "Besides the thirty-two columns which sustain the dome, there are two other smaller ones pretty near to the western door, which they show to foreign pilgrims, whom they make to believe, that when they pass freely between these columns, they are predestinated to the paradise of Mohammed; and they say that if a Christian were to pass through these columns, they would assuredly close together and crush him." The pious father, who seems himself to have entered within these forbidden precincts by stealth, slyly remarks, "I know very well, however, to whom that accident has not happened, notwithstanding that they were good Christians."† At Malabar Point, in the island of Bombay, is a similar hole of probation passed through by devout Hindoos; so that the notion seems to be borne out by examples in very opposite religions.

† Chateaubriand's Travels, vol. ii. p. 376. French edition, 8vo.



INTERIOR VIEW OF THE DOME OF THE HOLY SEPULCHRE, AND TOMB OF CHRIST.

within these walls, and that to which every other is made subservient, we entered the Holy Sepulchre itself, the venerated tomb of the Living God; an excavation originally made by human hands, though destined to contain, for a given period, the lifeless corpse of the great Creator and Director of the Universe!

To enter here, and kneel before the shrine, and kiss the marble that encases it with absolute indifference, I should hold to be impossible; but if I were asked what were the sentiments that possessed me at the moment of bowing before the altar, I should say, with Chateaubriand, that it would be impossible for me to describe them, and that such a train of ideas presented themselves at once to my mind, that none remained for a moment fixed there. My feelings, however, though equally indescribable as his own, were, I believe, of a very different kind.

After having been for some time the most honoured sanctuary of the Christians, it became a Pagan altar, and the statue of Jupiter usurped the place of Christ; while Venus was worshipped on the scene of his death, and Adonis bowed to on the spot which gave him birth. Constantine followed to break down the idols of the unbelievers, and the Persian Kosroes soon succeeded to rase again to the ground the

edifice of the imperial Greek. Heraclius restored the cross; the Saracens appeared and laid it low. The crusading armies of Europe exhausted their best blood and treasure to rescue it from the hands of infidels, if but for a moment, until it fell again before the conquering crescent of Mohammed; and at the present instant, the avarice and indolence of the Turks suffer the tomb of the Messiah to remain unmolested, in consideration only of the gold and silver which it yields up yearly to their coffers.

The descriptions which have been so often given of this monument, leave nothing to be added to their details. Chateaubriand has industriously collected all that can tend to illustrate either its history or its present state; and, as far as I could judge, his remarks, both on the tomb and the church, have the merit of general accuracy.

Our stay in the sepulchre itself was very short. The crowds pressing at the door; the smallness of the aperture of entrance; the confined space within, hung round with crimson damask, and ornamented with silver lamps and painting; the hurry and bustle occasioned by the worshippers searching for their shoes, left at the door, as every one went in barefoot; the struggles to be the first to get near enough to kiss the marble; and sometimes the forcibly pulling off the tur-

bans of those who might have forgotten to uncover their heads, presented altogether a scene of such confusion, that, added to the risk of suffocation in so impure an atmosphere, it drove us out rapidly to make room for others.

In reviewing again the different chapels in which the various worship of the Latins, Greeks, Armenians, Copts, and Abyssinians, was all going on at once, and that too in every diversity of manner, nothing was more striking than the religious pride of the worshippers of each sect, which made them cast down a look of contempt on those of the others, as men irretrievably lost in error, though we ourselves, who belonged professedly to none, were for that reason treated with respect by all.

From a number of lesser incidents which passed under our own eyes, we could perfectly believe and understand what Maundrell had said of the church here, in his day, and which remains unaltered to the present. *

The same traveller's description of the cere-

* That which has always been the great prize contended for by the several sects, is, the command and appropriation of the Holy Sepulchre; a privilege contested with so much unchristian fury and animosity, especially between the Greeks and Latins, that, in disputing which party should go into it to celebrate their mass, they have sometimes proceeded to blows and wounds, even at the very door of the sepulchre, mingling their own blood with their sacrifices: an evidence of

mony of the holy fire, of which he was himself an eye-witness, is a faithful but disgraceful picture of the scenes transacted here from one end of the year to the other, and inclines one to call the church of the holy sepulchre at Jerusalem, a temple combining the most surprising mixture of credulity and imposition, devotion and wickedness, that has ever issued from any one source since the world began. That which I myself witnessed confirmed to me all that I had heard and seen of the vile appropriation of religion here to the worst of purposes, and induced me to believe what I had at first thought at least a highly-coloured picture, though painted by the chaste, the accurate, and the pious Maundrell. *

After our return from the sepulchre, while

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which fury the father guardian showed us, in a great scar upon his arm, which, he told us, was the mark of a wound given him by a sturdy Greek priest in one of these unholy wars.—Maundrell's Journey, p. 94.

* "We went," says he, "to take our last leave of the Holy Sepulchre, this being the last time that it was to be opened this festival. Upon this finishing-day, and the night following, the Turks allow free admittance for all people, without demanding any fee for entrance, as at other times, calling it a day of charity. By this promiscuous licence they let in not only the poor, but, as I was told, the lewd and vicious also, who come hither to get convenient opportunity for prostitution, profaning the holy places in such a manner (as it is said) that they were not worse defiled than when the Heathen here celebrated their Aphrodisia."

Mr. Bankes and myself sat at dinner in the pilgrims' room at the convent, we were visited as usual by the two Italians, who were chiefly occupied in our supply; the one a Padre Isidore of Livorno, the communiero, and the other a Padre —— of Lucca, the spenditore, of the establishment.

The first of these had passed his early years as a travelling dentist in Italy, but finding this trade to fail, had entered the order of St. Francis. He was a modest, and perhaps a moral man, his only visible failing being that of being a sycophant and an intolerable proser. The second had been bred a shoemaker, and, disliking constant manual labour, had become also a Franciscan. He had been several years the sacristan of the convent at Alexandria, where we remembered to have seen each other often, as he had only recently returned from thence to the Holy Land. This circumstance of our having met before, had given him a greater degree of familiarity than any of the rest had ever presumed to; so that he always remained the last in our room, under pretence to the others of attending our wishes for to-morrow's dinner. The chief inducement, however, lay in a bottle of French brandy, which was always placed on our table, but of which neither Mr. Bankes nor myself partook. From this he regularly took his evening

cup, which was generally a deep one; and he both drank of it and dwelt upon its praises afterwards with a high degree of pleasure.

Our conversation was interrupted by the entry of Mohammed, the Italian renegado, who, though he had lived long in Albania and Egypt, and had been at Mecca and Medina, was almost as much a Christian as a Turk; yet he could not avoid a burst of laughter, when he told us that the monks were all employed in flogging themselves severely, and asked the old brandy-loving friar why he was not of the number? The monk answered, that it was penance enough for him to cook for eighty-eight people, and teach the boys of the convent to make shoes, over both of which duties he presided. We learnt, however, from his communications, that to-night was a night of flagellation, and that all the Frati flogged themselves on Wednesdays and Fridays throughout the year, besides every night during Lent and other great fasts, in penance for general sins; some doing it with the cords of their order, others with rods, and others with small chains, in proportion to the strength of their bodies to bear, and their devotion to inflict. Such was the extraordinary mixture of profligacy and piety, which the history of another day in Jerusalem disclosed.

27th. It being the sabbath of the Jews, whose

worship we were very desirous of witnessing in this their once imperial city, Mr. Bankes and I went at day-light to attend the morning-service at the Jewish synagogue.

Arriving at the spot, which was in a low and obscure street near the centre of the town, we descended by a flight of steps into a grotto. On getting down into this, we found it to be a large suit of subterranean rooms, lighted by small windows from above, around the sides, and near the roof.

The whole place was divided into seven or eight smaller rooms, in the centre of each of which was a raised square enclosure, open above at the sides; and here stood the priest who read the service. The female worshippers were above, looking down on the congregation through a skreen of lattice-work. The males were below, all seated on benches, and every one had a white serge-cloth, striped with blue at the ends, thrown over his head. At the front corners of this cloth were two long cords, and around two of the edges of it was a fringe of threads.

After some time passed in reading and responses, we went into the central rooms, which were both of them longer than the outer ones; and at the end of these were curtains for the vail of the temple. In the principal room, this vail was of purple cloth worked with gold; and

on its centre were the two tables of the law in Hebrew, nearly in the same form as we have them in English in our own churches.

The priest who officiated had, during this last week, arrived here from Amsterdam. The book from which he read rested on a piece of crimson velvet, worked with Hebrew letters of gold; after an apparent weeping on the part of the people, who covered their faces with the white head-cloth, and moved to and fro as if distressed for the loss of something, a man walked round the synagogue, crying out with a loud voice, and changing the first word only at every subsequent exclamation. This we learnt was the publication of the sum offered for the sight of the torat or scriptures. Advances were then made by individuals of the audience, and repeated by the crier, until either a sufficient or some specified sum was raised.

The priest then made a loud shout, and all the people joined; when some of the elders drew aside the vail of the temple, and opening a recess like that of a sanctum sanctorum, took from thence a cabinet highly ornamented with silver. In this were two rolls, containing the book of the law on parchment, rolled round a small pillar in the centre, which, on being turned, exposed the writing of the roll successively to view. On the top of this roll was fixed two sil-

ver censers with small bells, and it was carried round the assembly, when each of the congregation touched the writing with the cords at the front corners of his head-cloths, afterwards placing these cords to his lips, and then across his eyes. The cabinet was followed by a boy, bearing four silver censers with bells on a stand; and after every one had touched it, it was placed on the altar, in the central sanctuary, before the priest.

We had been suffered to go through every part of the synagogue during the service, which consisted chiefly in reading, and had to press through narrow ranks of the worshippers. We were at length accosted in Italian by an old rabbi, who called himself Moallim Zacharias, and told us that he was the banker of the governor, and the chief of the Jews here. He said that he had left Leghorn at the age of fifteen, against the wish of his friends, to end his days in Jerusalem, and that he had remained here ever since, being now nearly sixty years of age. From him we learnt the chief particulars of the worship already described, and he told us that the service was the same in all the separate divisions of the synagogue, which we had reason to believe was true, as we had ourselves seen it to be the same in two of these places.

The priests wore no particular robes or sym-

bols, nor was there any difference between the dresses of the elder and the younger people, the rich or the poor; all wore the white serge-cloth with blue stripes at the ends, two cords at the front corners, and an open fringe around it; and all were provided with a small Hebrew book of prayers. The service of the day included the reading of the history of the departure of the children of Israel from Egypt; and in the midst of this we had a song of rejoicing for the circumcision of a child on the eighth day.

On the breaking up of the assembly, five elders, who were near the vail of the temple, bowed before it; and placed their faces on the cloth itself, as if they were kissing it. All the congregation then turned their faces that way, and these elders, who, we were told, must be real descendants of Moses to enjoy that privilege, implored a blessing on the people; while they exclaimed in Hebrew, "Glory to the most High!" repeatedly rising on their toes at the same time, and alternately bending their heads backwards and forwards.

When this was ended, the white serge-cloths were taken off from their heads, and carefully rolled up; after which they were put into a little bag, and carried home in the hand. Rose-water was sprinkled upon the assembly by the man who had cried out before the producing of

the Scriptures, and we received from him our portion with the rest of the congregation. Nothing could be more mean than this subterranean synagogue, and nothing more paltry than its ornaments. Its lamps, only a few of which were lighted, were disposed in circles of five each, suspended from gilded hoops; and the carving and painting was chiefly flowers, but of the poorest kind. We learned that the money raised by the bringing out the Book of the Law, which could be seen only thrice in the week, was appropriated to the general fund for the expenses of the synagogue; and the readers, it was said, were paid only three hundred piastres per year. We could distinguish no *high priest*, as every room seemed to have had a similar teacher. On the feast of the Paschal, three hundred piastres more are spent on the decoration of the synagogue alone.

In the whole congregation, there were about five hundred men and male children, and above were said to be nearly eight hundred women and female children. In all Jerusalem, Moallim Zachariah told us that there were not one thousand male Jews, but that there were at least three thousand females. This difference, he said, was thus occasioned. No male Jews came hither but such as were contented to live poorly, or had money to let out at interest for their sub-

sistence; as there was no commerce practised in the place, and all were therefore rabbis, or dwellers in the courts of the Lord, or students, or devout persons. Widows, however, from all countries, if they could get to Jerusalem, were sure of being maintained by the community of their own religion; and, accordingly, as many as could get together the means of doing so, flocked here for that purpose.

The great happiness of their people, he added, was to die at Jerusalem, and to be buried in the valley of Jehoshaphat. They still firmly expected the Messiah, and thought that the past wars were preparatory to his coming; while they laughed at the Christians and Mohammedans and despised them, as not of the seed of Abraham, to whom only the Christ would come. Although many of the Jews now here came from different parts of the world, their physiognomy was as strikingly national as if they were all descended from one common father.

Previous to the invasion of Syria by Buonaparte, a law existed among the Turks that there should be no more than two thousand Jews in Jerusalem, on pain of death to those who exceeded that number. At that period, the Christians were all shut up in their convents, and the Jews in their quarter, and if Jerusalem had then been attacked by the French, it was

intended by the Turks here to massacre all who were not Mohammedans without distinction of age or sex.

The picture which is drawn of these people by M. Chateaubriand, like that which he has given of the Christians, is remarkable rather for its eloquence than its truth; and, like it too, proves how far enthusiasm, and the infection of holy fervour, may occasion men of the most accurate judgment on general subjects, to deceive even themselves on particular points. *

* " Tandis que la nouvelle Jérusalem sort ainsi du désert, brillante de clarté, jetez les yeux entre la montagne de Sion et le temple; voyez cet autre petit peuple qui vit séparé du reste des habitans de la cité. Objet particulier de tous les mépris il baisse la tête sans se plaindre; il souffre toutes les avanies sans demander justice; il se laisse accabler de coups sans soupirer; on lui demande sa tête: il la présente au cimeterre. Si quelque membre de cette société proscrite vient à mourir son compagnon ira, pendant la nuit, l'enterrer furtivement dans la vallée de Josaphat, à l'ombre du Temple de Salomon. Pénétrez dans la demeure de ce peuple, vous le trouverez dans une affreuse misère, faisant lire un livre mystérieux à des enfans qui, à leur tour, le feront lire à leurs enfans. Ce qu'il faisoit il y a cinq mille ans, ce peuple le fait encore. Il a assisté dix-sept fois à la ruine de Jérusalem, et rien ne peut le décourager; rien ne peut l'empêcher de tourner ses regards vers Sion. Quand on voit les Juifs dispersés sur la terre, selon la parole de Dieu, on est surpris sans doute: mais, pour être frappé d'un étonnement surnaturel, il faut les retrouver à Jérusalem; il faut voir ces légitimes maîtres de la Judée esclaves et étrangers dans leur propre pays; il faut les voir attendant, sous toutes les oppressions, un roi qui doit les délivrer. Ecrasés

par la croix qui les condamne, et qui est plantée sur leurs têtes, cachés près du temple dont il ne reste pas pierre sur pierre, ils demeurent dans leur déplorable aveuglement. Les Perses, les Grecs, les Romains, ont disparu de la terre ; et un petit peuple, dont l'origine précéda celle de ces grands peuples, existe encore sans mélange dans les décombres de sa patrie. Si quelque chose, parmi les nations, porte le caractère du miracle, nous pensons que ce caractère est ici. Et qu'y a-t-il de plus merveilleux, même aux yeux du philosophe, que cette rencontre de l'antique et de la nouvelle Jérusalem au pied du Calvaire : la première s'affligeant à l'aspect du sépulcre de Jésus Christ ressuscité ; la seconde se consolant auprès du seul tombeau qui n'aura rien à rendre à la fin des siècles !" — Itinéraire de Paris à Jerusalem, tom. ii. p. 179.

THE END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

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